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**PRACTICE OF HUMAN RIGHTS
JOURNALISM IN THE HUMANITARIAN
CRISIS OF SRI LANKA AND CONSTRUCTING
OPTIONS FOR R2P INTERVENTION**

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PhD

2016

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THE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS OF SRI LANKA AND
CONSTRUCTING OPTIONS FOR R2P
INTERVENTION**

SENTHAN SELVARAJAH

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requirements of the University of Northumbria at
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Social Science**

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Abstract

Despite the research interests generated among the concept of Responsibility to Protect (R2P) by many, my study has uniquely taken the role of the media to facilitate the implementation of R2P. This was done by examining the nature and gravity of practice of Human Rights Journalism (HRJ) in the international press during the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka amidst the overrunning of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) by government forces in May 2009. This study inter-disciplinarily explored the fields of media, human rights and conflict transformation to understand the nexus between R2P and HRJ.

Based on the findings on quantitative and qualitative reporting analysis, it was revealed that the international press failed to play its watchdog role to expose the human rights violations and mass atrocity crimes during the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka. Besides it also found how the international press failed to draw the international community to consider R2P options on the distant suffering. In Spite of the threats, intimidation and difficulties (whether it was expressed or not) they faced while reporting, majority of the Indian Journalists openly acknowledged the parallel policy with regard to the final war between the governments of India and Sri Lanka. It was that the terrorist label on the LTTE influenced their reporting given their own conceptions and relied on the elite sources for information.

While Shaw proposed HRJ as a solution to report physical, structural and cultural violence within the context of humanitarian intervention, from the analysis of the articles on the newspapers and the interviews it was very much evident that the international press did not let the journalists practice HRJ to a satisfactory level and establish a prima facie case to construct the reality of the humanitarian crisis. As supported and corroborated by the two independent yet mutually supportive methodologies, the analysis of this study found that the framing of the news stories is either decided by the editorial policy in accordance with internal guidelines, or by the news sources. Thereby the variety of ideological, political, geographical and cultural contexts of framing establishes a discourse which leaves us with a controlling media power.

On the whole this study contributes uniquely towards the development of an epistemological grounding for the practice and research of HRJ within the just-peace framework and development of Frame Analysis Matrix, and Multimodal Discourse Analysis Matrix. In addition, also proves the fact that failing to contribute to the moral responsibility in a truthful and justifiable manner of the victim, rather than via influence will not contribute towards the real human rights practice.

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Abbreviations

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CNN	Cable News Network
GT	Grounded Theory
HRJ	Human Rights Journalism
HWJ	Human Wrongs Journalism
ICG	International Crisis Group
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
PJ	Peace Journalism
PR	Public Relations
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States of America

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Declaration

I, Senthan Selvarajah declare that this thesis entitled (insert the title of this thesis) and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as a result of my original research. Furthermore, to the best of my knowledge, this thesis does not breach copyright law, and has not been taken from other sources except where such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text.

All required ethical clearance for the research presented in this thesis has been approved. Approval has been sought and granted by the Faculty Ethics Committee on 13th of the February 2014.

I declare that the Word Count of this Thesis is 88, 779 words.

Name:

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Chapter 1: Introduction to media's role in conditioning R2P response

1.1 Background, Aims and Objectives of this study

Responsibility to protect (R2P) is a liberal and holistic notion that aims to advocate the obligation of individual states and international community to engage in violence prevention, peace-making and rebuilding of societies in times of and after mass atrocity crimes such as genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing. International Scholar Hendry Bull's (1977, p.13), definition on "International community" is what this study believes to be as its definition. According to him an international society exists "when a group of states, conscious of certain common interests and common values, form a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and also whilst sharing amidst working of common institutions". With this in mind, this study contextualises 'international community' as the Member States of the UN. Furthermore considered their activities as an international body within the United Nation's framework in reference to the Security Council, United Nations Human Rights Council and the General Assembly to maintain peace, security and human rights.

The norm 'Responsibility to Protect' was first introduced in the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty report published in 2001 (ICISS, 2011; Wheeler, 2005, p.3). However, Francis Deng brought the assumption that sovereignty entails responsibility forward in the middle of the 1990s (Deng, 2009a, p. 249-2510; Deng, 2009b). The conception was that the right of non-interference was conditional, which means that when a state was unable to protect its own population it would lose this right. Deng assumed that in those cases, the international community has not only a right, but also a duty to step in (ibid). This means that sovereignty is not absolute and it can be tackled if human rights are not respected appropriately. The source of responsibility for R2P intervention, as the ICISS report highlights is 'universal human rights' and 'common humanity' (Welsh and Banda, 2010, p.283) and it is on this premise that the three pillars of R2P have been built: 1. The State carries the primary responsibility for protecting populations from genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing, and their incitement. 2. The international community has a responsibility to encourage and assist States in fulfilling this responsibility. 3. The international community has a responsibility to use appropriate diplomatic, humanitarian and other means to protect

populations from these crimes. If a State is manifestly failing to protect its populations, the international community must be prepared to take collective action to protect populations, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

Therefore, this human rights and security norm grounded in cosmopolitan principle of humanitarianism has evolved as a unique doctrine primarily for two specific reasons: 1. it was the first major organized initiative of international community to draw global attention and create response to address humanitarian crisis and causes. 2. It has redefined the concept of sovereignty by changing its role from ‘sovereignty as impunity of states’ to ‘sovereignty as responsibility’ to protect every individual in the society.

This concept has drawn so much scholarly attention as to how to implement it in a legitimate and rightful manner free from political manipulations and abuses, in times of extreme violence and crisis. Media as a human rights witness, human rights promoter and protector seems to have a potential ability to facilitate R2P intervention, where necessary and appropriate. However, unfortunately, the scholarly research that have been done in the area of R2P have completely ignored the role that the media can play to facilitate the implementation of R2P in a holistic manner through its three responsibilities: responsibility to protect, responsibility to react and responsibility to rebuild.

Despite some scholars’ dissatisfaction over the media’s capacity for setting the agenda for policy makers to fix humanitarian crisis, studies have highlighted the power and ability of the media to shape policy responses to humanitarian crises and violent conflicts to protect and promote human rights and peace (Shaw, 2012; Hoijer, 2004; Chouliaraki, 2008; Boltanski, 1999; Cottle, 2009; Society’, Wolfsfeld, 1991; Robinson; 2013, Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005).

For example, the media coverage of Kurdish crisis in Northern Iraq in 1991 facilitated UN-legitimated humanitarian intervention which created ‘safe havens’ to protect Kurds. In 1992, the media coverage of famine conditions during the civil war that threatened one-fourth of Somalia's population whose distribution of humanitarian aid was prevented by rival warlords, prompted President George Bush (Snr) to send a military mission to save Somali people (Robinson, 2013). This power of the media to influence foreign policy decision making to respond to humanitarian crisis is known as the ‘CNN effect’ and one of the central concepts on the topic of humanitarian interventions.

According to Steven Livingston and Todd Eachus the CNN effect, “is about a presumed shift in power away from the foreign policy machinery of government to a more diffuse array of nongovernmental actors, primarily news media organisations” (1995, p.415). The validity of the CNN effect theory has been a subject to a debate among scholars. Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky, in their *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, explain the influence of ruling elite on media to keep the mass public in conformity with their policies through propaganda, because these ruling elite and decision-makers fall in a same circle and have same values and interests (Herman and Chomsky, 1998). They have laid out the institutional realities, professional routines and ideologies that shape the practice of journalism in their propaganda model. This model explains how propaganda works in the media in a systematic way by shaping the minds of people, their sentiments, feelings and behaviours to gain their support in favour of the aims promoted by propagandists. However, some scholars such as Dan Hallin and Michael Schudson rejected the arguments of Herman and Chomsky, saying that their reasoning to political economic approach is of limited value (Hallin, 1994; Schudson, 1995).

However, ITN News Service’s Diplomatic Editor Nik Gowing (1994), in his study found cosmetic effect of media power to set foreign policy agenda during crisis situations, particularly creating tactical decisions such as safe areas. A Study of Livingston and Eachus underlines the media’s behaviour of reflecting the views of policymakers, as opposed to CNN effect (Livingston and Eachus, 1995).

Meanwhile, Piers Robinson’s Policy-Media Interaction model shows the influence that the media can enforce with its coverage of human sufferings and critical reporting when policy is uncertain regarding humanitarian crises (Robinson, 2000). Hitherto, his theory doesn’t rebuff the power of the media to influence policy response when a policy is certain.

Wolfsfeld, in 1997 developed ‘Political contest model’ of the media, in which he argued that though in general, the news media reflect and mobilise support for dominant views in the society, at times it does fulfil the needs of marginalised communities. He highlighted the conditions that influence the media in policy formation (Wolfsfeld, 1997).

Stuart Allan underlines the capacity of emerging form of (citizen) journalism such as websites and blogs to reshape the features of war reporting within social context and

ideological diversity as well as to create immediacy by connecting the readers with distant sufferer and marginalised (Allan, 2004; Allan 2010).

Studies have proven the ability and power of the emerging forms of citizen Journalism to expose the human rights violations by enabling the ordinary people to play the role of news reporters using the online and social media facilities communications (Allan et al., 2007; Allan, 2013).

Martin Shaw in his theoretical construct of ‘global society’ in 1999, identified media’s capacity to actively represent victims of violence and being part of ‘global voice’. However, he found that such a representation with potential leverage for shaping the policy making seldom happens (Shaw, 1999). Birgitta Hoijer in her study of ‘Global compassion’ identified similar effects of media in its representation of distance sufferings. Her study, while underlining the capacity of the media to create global compassion of mass atrocity crimes, also highlights the impotent of such compassion to make the audience active with strong moral commitment. Thus, her research highlights the effect of ‘fathomless distance’ in media’s representation of victims in influencing policy decisions (Hoijer, 2003).

Meanwhile, Lilie Chouliaraki in her study of hierarchical typology, sheds light on the power of the media to create ‘cosmopolitan spectatorship’ in which coverage of distance suffering invites audiences to care for and act on conditions of human existence that go beyond their own communities of belonging (Chouliaraki, 2008; Chouliaraki, 2006, p.94). However, she finds that the media coverage of distance sufferings given the celebrity-driven, consumerist culture creates a sense of ‘feel good’ activism among the spectators by giving donations, thus eroding the moral values of care for the other and social justice. For Chouliaraki, media can cultivate honest sense of solidarity by prioritising the victims first and letting them to expresses their voices in an interactive manner with spectators to initiate engagement between the two (Chouliaraki, 2013).

Simin Cottle (2009a) in his analysis of ‘Global Crisis Reporting’ sheds light on the ability of the news media to recognise and respond to the threats of human rights by constructing them as ‘Global Crisis’. His study highlights the power of the media to shape the conscience of decision makers and public institutions into policy interventions for humanitarian responses by exposing the violations of human rights. To quote Cottle, 2009b, p. 509-510), “the news media do not only communicate global crises, they also help to

constitute them, and in so doing, can powerfully shape their course and conduct”. According to him, the realisation of ‘Global Cosmopolitan Society’ depends on “how global crises are staged in the world’s news media”

In general, studies conducted with regard to the CNN effect point out to a fact that the influence of media over foreign policy during crisis situations may or may not happen and is conditioned by the political circumstances within which the media function. As Robinson explains, realpolitik calculations and boomerang effects such as the concerns of the so-called ‘body –bag effect’ primarily determine these political conditions (Robinson, 2013).

Consistent with this argument, Livingston (1997) found that the policies detached from military dimension, tend to have lower political risks and costs, and therefore more likely to be influenced by media pressure. On the other hand, as we have observed, studies have highlighted the dysfunctional of media coverage of distance sufferings to have CNN effect to influence policy responses for humanitarian and political actions. Van Belle and Potter (2009) also underline the prospective media power to condition non-coercive interventions and aid distribution than coercive interventions to fix humanitarian crisis.

Within the context of this dysfunctional media coverage of conflicts scholars like Johan Galtung, William Kempf, Jake Lynch and Ibrahim Seaga Shaw draw attention to a number of shortcomings in the practice and performance of conventional war journalism. These include the propensity to focus on violence, the reliance on military and government sources, the emphasis on military developments rather than diplomatic and peace activities, Us -Them dichotomy, the tendency to reproduce propaganda, the use of military and violent language, the non-involvement of the media and focus on immediate physical needs at the expense of long term structural solutions. Some of the shortcomings of conventional journalism have also been aired by leading war correspondents, such as Martin Bell, who have drawn attention to the limitations of their profession in recent conflicts (Galtung, 1965; Galtung, 2003; Kempf, 2002; Kempf, 2003; Lynch and McGoldrick, 2007, Lynch, 2008, Shaw *et al.*, 2011).

Lynch and McGoldrick, two of the leading practitioner-proponents of Peace Journalism, describe the term “war journalism” as an “exercise in framing, without implying that journalists are actively conspiring in some kind of plot to bamboozle the public into

supporting wars” (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2007, p.258). Characterising the shortcomings of conventional journalism as ‘Human Wrongs Journalism’ (HRJ), highlights its destructive nature of framing ‘othering’ and ‘empathy distancing’. This reactive nature of framing makes the news journalism discourse being indifferent and emotionless towards the distant suffering and feeble of political action. As Shaw (2012) argues, it fails to diagnose the underlying etiology and addresses the power imbalance in the society. This kind of reporting as Shaw elucidates, is ‘selective justice’, rather than the inclusive justice as described in UDHR. Practising war correspondents and peace activists have both expressed their concerns about the role of conventional war reporting in providing support for wars. The former complain about the constraints imposed on them by the concept of “objectivity”, while the latter draw attention to the role of conventional journalism in promoting war through several orientations: towards violence, towards propaganda, towards support for the interpretations of elites and towards victory.

Having emphasised the ability and power of the news media to play a key role in advocating respect for human rights and preventing violence in terms of manoeuvring political action to protect human rights and violations, this chapter highlighted dissimilar, but mutually influencing challenges confronted by media in its coverage of war and humanitarian crises. The dysfunctional reporting caused by the identified reasons, made the international media failing to give due coverage to the gross human rights violations in Rwanda in 1994.

This situation highlights the importance of research that explores the practice of journalism that traverses these described challenges to cover gross human rights violations and mass atrocity crimes with an obligation to expose them to the world to take action on them.

Against this backdrop, as elucidated earlier, R2P is a political principle and evolving international norm for the prevention of mass atrocities. This is where research can play a valuable part in investigating as to how media can facilitate the implementation of R2P in an appropriate manner where necessary.

Cottle (2011) observes that the media can and indeed perform a role in influencing public opinion against despotic leaders and draw the world’s attention of the potential of the R2P doctrine to deal with them. However, the scope of R2P requires the media to go an extra mile beyond the notion of objectivity and play a proactive role to contribute to the

protection of human rights, which is indispensable for building peace. It underlines the moral responsibility of journalists to raise awareness of human rights violations, wherever they exist, and mobilise appropriate policy response to end them, prevent their escalation, for peace to be realised.

This rationale highlights the relationship between R2P and media. This situation demands a media which need human rights-oriented approach and watchdog function to facilitate the implementation of R2P, because, as will be justified in the next chapter, R2P is a 'rights based' multidimensional approach. Therefore, media by exposing human rights violations and underlying causes can establish Foucault's (1991) 'regime of truth', which in turn can pressurise the global actors to ensure that human rights are protected and enforced globally within R2P principle. Rights approach means the process of protecting human rights and human security in accordance with a set of rights and obligations established by international law and Universal Declaration of Human Rights that overrides sovereignty, when rights are violated.

Therefore, analysing the media coverage of the humanitarian crisis requires such a systemic understanding of the "nexus between peace and human rights and between these two concepts and communication rights". This is where the relevance of Human Rights Journalism (HRJ) comes in. Human Rights Journalism, as Shaw defines is "a diagnostic style of reporting, which gives a critical reflection on the experiences and needs of the victims and perpetrators of human rights violations of all types – physical as well as cultural and structural – in order to stimulate understanding of the reasons for these violations and to prevent or solve them in ways that would not produce more human rights imbalances or violations in the future" (Shaw, 2012, p.46). HRJ is informed by critical empathy frame, diagnostic reporting frame, pro-activism frame, interventionism frame and peace journalism frame (Ibid, p. 101).

It is against this backdrop that this study attempts to examine the extent to which the international press practiced Human Rights Journalism in the humanitarian crisis of Sri Lanka and to what extent constructed options for R2P intervention in the wake of the overrunning of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) by government forces in May 2009 and the extent to which the international press created R2P options. Through the analysis, this study on one hand attempts to figure out the extent the international press covered the humanitarian crisis and exposed the mass atrocities committed during the war

to the world to take action, and on the other, scrutinises if HRJ was practiced by the international press within the theoretical framework of Shaw's 'Human Rights Journalism', so that the study can assess the extent to which the international press created R2P options as well as to make recommendations and improvements on how HRJ can be effectively applied to facilitate R2P in times of crisis. The definition of 'international press' in this study is restricted to newspapers, which extensively provides its own news with a global brand name and a fully controlled editorial processes. Through the analysis, this study on one hand attempts to figure out the extent to which the international press covered the humanitarian crisis and exposed the mass atrocities committed during the war to the world to take action. On the other hand, scrutinises if HRJ was practiced by the international press within the theoretical framework of Shaw's 'Human Rights Journalism', so that the study can assess the extent to which the international press created R2P options. Furthermore makes recommendations and improvements on how HRJ can be effectively applied to facilitate R2P in times of crisis.

Despite the controversy and arguments for or against the application of R2P, this human security norm was evoked in a few instances such as the crisis situations in Timor-Leste, Darfur, Kosovo and Libya in different ways and pace. However, it was in Libya that the third pillar of this human security norm was fully implemented (Implementing the Responsibility to Protect, 2009, p.4, 8-9). Nevertheless, the R2P intervention in Libya in February 2011 supposed to be protecting Libyan population exceeded its mandate by aiding the rebel forces to facilitate regime change. As a result R2P lost its ability to rebuild the Libyan society, and build peace and reconciliation.

Whereas in Sri Lanka, the international community entirely failed to invoke R2P in one of the worst humanitarian crises of the world in 2009, during which more than 70,000 people were killed and serious war crimes and crime against humanity were committed within a few weeks.

Human rights activists and academics widely condemned the UN and the international community that their failure to act throughout the Sri Lankan conflict and failing to consider the crisis under 'R2P' given the alarmingly high level human rights violations. For example, as Professor Damian Kingsbury writes, the ignorance and passivity of the international community to fulfil their responsibility to invoke R2P enabled the war to become brutal and to be won by one party with the massacre of thousands of people and

severe human rights abuses (Kingsbury, 2012, p.8). Not forgetting Gordon Weiss, who was the UN spokesperson in Sri Lanka during the humanitarian crisis in 2009 later wrote a book called 'The Cage' in which he detailed how the UN failed to protect the civilians. He personally believes war crimes were committed during the final stages of the civil war and has called upon for an international investigation (Weiss, 2012).

This is where a question arises as to whether this situation could have been avoided, had media played human rights oriented reporting and demonstrated its watchdog function to encourage international intervention.

As Shaw emphasises, dissemination of information of human sufferings should serve "both as a means and as an end to the promotion and protection of human rights and peace. By taking part in an act of communication, one can contribute to the creation of peace, which can also be indispensable for human rights promotion and protection" (Shaw, 2012, p. 12-13). Shaw (Ibid, p.2).argues the point that

Journalists not only hold the power to inform the public, connect people in different parts of the world and promote public knowledge and understanding of issues and events, but, more importantly, have the moral responsibility – as duty bearers- to educate the public, increase awareness in its members of their rights and monitor, investigate and report all human rights violations.

It is in the backdrop of these theoretical perspectives that the scope of this thesis is defined to examine the nature and extent of the practice of HRJ in the international press during the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka, and thereby to scrutinise the extent to which the newspapers constructed options for R2P intervention.

1.2 HRJ-R2P Nexus and the research problem of this study

Explicitly, as observed already, both the concepts of R2P and HRJ unequivocally advocate for preventing mass atrocity crimes and protecting civilians in times of crisis and thereby to contribute to creating the conditions for sustainable peace. It is at this point that a symbiotic connection is established between the concepts of R2P and HRJ, in terms of their objective.

R2P has two functions: Firstly, it is about "political commitment to prevent and halt genocide and mass atrocities accompanied by a policy agenda in need of implementation" (Bellamy, 2010, p.158). Secondly, R2P is seen as a "speech act and catalyst for action". It

means that R2P is a “label that can be attached to particular crises in order to generate the will and consensus necessary to mobilize a decisive international response” (Ibid, p.160). This is where, the role of HRJ comes in, to materialise these two functions of R2P, as an obliged responsible holder to protect human rights and create peace.

The source of responsibility for R2P intervention, as the ICISS report highlights is ‘universal human rights’ and ‘common humanity’. Similarly, HRJ draws its inspiration and features from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

As mentioned already, R2P is a normative and rights based multidimensional approach, aiming for a reality of a “pre-given”, natural, self-evident and indisputable set of rights of the individual equal to everyone. Similarly, HRJ is a normative journalistic practice, characterised as a rights-based journalism – a journalism based on the respect for human dignity irrespective of colour, nationality, race, gender, geographical location etc. (Shaw, 2011). According to Cudd (2006, p.4), normative concept is driven by “a social theory of what the concept does and what it means for the society and recommends itself as the preferred use”. In other words, normative concepts are based on ideal theories to which society and its institutions are expected to aspire. It is under this impression, R2P and HRJ as an approach to war and conflict are guided by the theories of conflict analysis, conflict transformation, and human rights.

In addition, R2P as a normative concept can be well accommodated within the solidarist tradition of English School grounded in Kantian principle of universalizability, in which international society is the main player, and tolerance and acceptance of injustice such as human rights violations are considered an ignorance of moral responsibility of the international community. Similarly, HRJ too draws its inspiration from Kant's cosmopolitan principle of global justice, as a more proactive approach in prioritising the deconstruction of indirect structural and cultural violence, and as the best way of preventing or minimising direct political violence.

As evident in the discussion, both R2P and HRJ go hand in hand with Peace scholar Lisa Schirch's ‘Strategic peacebuilding’, which embodies human rights and peace Kant's articulation of human rights and peace connection (2008), which will be further elaborated in Chapter 4.

As Lisa Schirch (ibid) explains, strategic peacebuilding underlines human rights based approach for addressing all forms of violence. As can be understood, the features that form the framework of ‘strategic peacebuilding’ are very much similar to the aspects of R2P and HRJ: Focus on all stages of conflict, Wide focus on a range of activities including peacekeeping, human rights monitoring, mediation, development, education, governance, etc., Long-term focus on addressing root causes of violence, including structural injustices, Process-oriented focus on transformation, Focus on the role of insiders and increasing their capacity for building peace, focus on all levels of interventions, from the community, regional, and national levels and focus on military peace operations Focus on non-military approaches to building peace and security.

In the context of this nexus, Lisa Schirch’s (ibid) strategic peacebuilding is used as one of the theoretical foundations, due to its capacity and potential to deal with negative peace (direct violence such as physical violence) and positive peace (indirect violence such as structural and cultural violence) as well as positive rights and negative rights within the Kantian principle of universalizability.

Meanwhile, as highlighted already, this study is an interdisciplinary research between the fields of media, human rights and conflict transformation to understand the nexus between R2P and HRJ. Thus this study adopts an interdisciplinary multidimensional research approach to answer the primary and secondary research questions, which are

The primary research question is:

To what extent did the international press practice HRJ in the reporting of the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka to create options for R2P intervention?

The secondary research questions are:

1. How and to what extent was the human rights violations and suffering of the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka reported in the international newspapers?
2. How and to what extent did the international newspapers expose the issues of human rights within the R2P framework to construct options for intervention in Sri Lanka?
3. What are the challenges that confronted the journalists over the course of their reporting?

1.3 Summary of the original contribution to knowledge

In this thesis a number of original contributions are made in terms of literature, methodology and findings. It is explained how this study differs from Ibrahim Seaga Shaw's 'Human Rights Journalism: Advances in Reporting Distant Humanitarian Interventions' that fills the research gap left by this book. This study also fills the research gap about the role of the international media with regard to the failure of the international community to step in during the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka in 2009 to stop the mass atrocity crimes. On the other hand, this is the first study that examines how media can facilitate the implementation of R2P in an appropriate manner. An important contribution of this study to the concept of HRJ, is its development of epistemological grounding for its practice and research within the critical constructivist paradigm. This in turn answers a number of criticism on HRJ such as its argument for journalists' moral responsibility towards human rights and tasking side of the victims. In addition, this study sheds light on rightly positioning the objectivity doctrine within the critical constructivist paradigm as opposed to the positivist paradigm to fulfil its visions, given the described reasons for the failings of conventional journalism. In terms of the methodological contribution, this study has introduced a pioneering technique by using the qualitative analysis methods of 'Framing Analysis' and 'Multimodal Discourse Analysis' in a quantitative comparative manner to uncover new insights, findings, trends and relationship of a problem under the study within the concepts of HRJ and Distant suffering. The originality of this research technique is its development of Frame Analysis Matrix and Multimodal Discourse Analysis Matrix and their integration into the content analysis framework. The findings of the study in a number of ways creates future research implications for the advancement of human rights reporting in terms of early warning, protection and prevention within the integrated framework of HRJ and typology of news stories.

1.4 Structure of the Study

This thesis is divided into 9 chapters. The first chapter is the introduction of the thesis; it describes the background of the research and defines the objectives of the thesis.

The second chapter focuses on R2P theory and argues why R2P should be considered a 'rights based' approach, to set a foundation for this thesis. The chapter also discusses the conditions that condition the implementation of R2P within the context of varying nature of the international relations theory.

The third chapter describes the problems of doing conventional war reporting and identifies the factors that have oriented war journalism towards war and violence.

The fourth chapter embarks on a discussion of exploring the epistemological foundation of the theory and practice of HRJ, analysing its relevance to R2P as a 'rights based approach' within the context of just peace theory and tracing its 'power' towards the protection and promotion of human rights within the context of Foucault's 'regime of truth. Within this context, this chapter establishes a hypothesis relating the application of R2P with the ability of the media to construct reality of the humanitarian crisis within the critical constructivist paradigm.

The fifth chapter introduces the research methodology articulated in this study and how it has directed the data collection, analysis, findings and discussions in the forthcoming chapters. Given the interdisciplinary nature of the research questions, this research used a two dimensional but mutually reinforcing methodology which involved using two different sources of information whose purpose varied from one stage of the project to another: published media content (content analysis integrated with frame analysis and multimodal discourse analysis) and face to face interviews with journalists (Grounded Theory). Accordingly, the research process of this study is divided into two phases.

Importantly, chapter 5 in a creative and innovative manner introduces two quantitative analysis tools namely 'Framing Matrix' and 'Multimodal Discourse Analysis Matrix' to examine the practice of HRJ and typology of news stories of distant suffering. The integration of the framing matrix and multimodal discourse analysis matrix in the content analysis are a pioneering idea to assess the media coverage of humanitarian crisis within the knowledge of the qualitative assessment methods, such as Frame Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis.

The sixth is dedicated to the examination of the news stories published in the newspapers through the content analysis framework. The articulation of Frame analysis in the content analysis framework in light of newly created 'frame analysis matrix' is used. This chapter deals with the 1st research question concerning the quantitative importance of the news coverage of the humanitarian crisis: To what extent and how human rights violations and

suffering of the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka were reported in the international newspapers?

Seventh chapter focuses on answering the 2nd research question on how and to what extent the international newspapers exposed the issues of human rights within the R2P framework to construct options for intervention in Sri Lanka. This chapter attempts to address these questions by critically engaging with the frames of HRJ and typology of news stories of distant suffering using frame analysis and multimodal discourse analysis matrix in the content analysis framework.

Eighth chapter endeavours to answer the 3rd research question: What are the challenges that confronted journalists in the course of their reporting? This is answered by analysing the data gathered from face to face interviews and self-administered interviews with foreign correspondents who have been to Sri Lanka during and after the war to report on the situation. These interviews are analysed using grounded theory as described by Strauss and Corbin.

The 9th chapter is a conclusion, in which the summary of the findings, insights and observations are discussion with regard to the primary research question of this study. Importantly, the distinctiveness of this study and its original contribution to knowledge is detailed in this chapter.

1.5 Conclusion

Despite some scholars' pessimistic views on the ability of the media to influence foreign policy decision making with regard to prevent gross human rights violations, this chapter referring to a number of studies, highlighted the optimistic effects of media to encourage the political action in times of crisis situations. Within this context, this chapter highlighted the importance of research that elucidates the role of media to facilitate the implementation of R2P doctrine in an appropriate manner. The potential of the HRJ framework to reinforce the R2P was highlighted and then the nexus between these two concepts was explained. Against this backdrop, this chapter emphasized the importance of studying this HRJ- R2P nexus by analysing the humanitarian crisis of Sri Lanka in 2009 as a case study to scrutinize the extent the international press practiced HRJ to construct R2P options. This chapter also elaborated the research questions of this study to answer this research purpose.

How this thesis is structured in terms of chapters as well as the original knowledge contribution of this study in the field of media and humanitarian intervention were also briefly explained.

Chapter 2: Humanitarian Intervention and Responsibility to Protect in Sri Lanka

2.0 Introduction

Responsibility to protect (R2P) is a liberal and holistic notion that aims to advocate the obligation of individual states and international community to engage in violence prevention, peace-making and rebuilding of societies in times of and after mass atrocity crimes such as genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing (see ICISS, 2001).

As highlighted in chapter 2, this human rights and security norm grounded in the cosmopolitan principle of humanitarianism, has evolved as a unique doctrine primarily for two specific reasons: 1. It was the first major organized initiative of the international community to draw global attention and create response to address humanitarian crisis and causes. 2. It has redefined the concept of sovereignty by changing its role from 'sovereignty as impunity of states' to 'sovereignty as responsibility' to protect every individual in the society (see Peltonen, 2011).

Nevertheless, since its inception in 2001, there have been both criticisms and praises about the nature, scope and practicality of implementation. Especially its threshold for military intervention as a last resort has been subject to debate with arguments ranging from rationality to emotional and stereotypical outburst.

Yet, despite the controversy and arguments for or against the application, this civilian protection doctrine, has been invoked in a number of instances in different ways and pace, including those in Darfur, Kenya, Democratic Republic of Congo and Libya. Particularly, the R2P intervention in Libya is supposed to be to protect the Libyan population that exceeded its mandate by aiding the rebel forces to facilitate regime change. As a result R2P lost its ability to rebuild the Libyan society, and built peace and reconciliation, which invocation created devastating effects (see Morris, 2013). Whereas in Sri Lanka, the international community entirely failed to invoke R2P during the worst humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka in the wake of the overrunning of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) by the government forces in May 2009, during which more than 70,000 people were killed and serious war crimes and crime against humanity were committed (Internal Review Panel, 2012; UN Panel of Experts (2011). The real problem lay elsewhere. As per

the current case of Syria today, the international community has still not invoked R2P to protect the civilians.

Though R2P has had its failures, shortfalls and limits, studies have highlighted its potential power and ability to fix humanitarian crises and violent conflicts by safeguarding and fostering human rights and peace. It has drawn so much scholarly attention on how to implement this notion in a legitimate and rightful manner without surrendering to political abuses.

It is against this backdrop that this chapter attempts to understand the nature, scope, limits, concerns and potential of R2P within a multidisciplinary theoretical framework such as international relations, human rights and peace principles, as well as journalism. With this understanding, it then focuses on examining the relevance, appropriateness and failures of R2P to the case of Sri Lanka.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section endeavours to inform the theory of humanitarian interventions in light of just war and international relations principles. The second section attempts to explain why R2P can be regarded as a 'rights based multidimensional approach' resonating with the solidarist tradition of the English school. The third section details as to how the United Nations failed in its obligation to prevent the mass atrocity crimes occurred in Sri Lanka in 2009.

Throughout these three sections, this chapter aims to give a context of understanding of the nature and scope of R2P and why it's invoking was deemed appropriate to the case of the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka. This was done in a manner to set a theoretical picture to explore how and what kind of media can be a tool to facilitate its implementation. It is against this theoretical background that this study aims to analyse the extent to which, the international press covered the humanitarian crisis within the human rights framework to construct R2P options in Sri Lanka.

2.1 Just war, Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations

The moral philosophical ground in which Humanitarian Intervention (HI) including R2P is rooted is just a war theory. It explains the moral issues about the acceptable time to wage war (*jus ad bellum*) and the limitations of waging war (*jus in bello*) (Potter, 1973).

Justification of recourse to force where there was "just cause" can be traced from "just war" period religious writings (c330 BC- AD1650) to scholarly writings and international laws and agreements of United Nations Charter period (p. 11). This justification evolved as a just war doctrine over time. Philosopher Aristotle (384 BC - 322 BC) was the first writer who argued for restricted recourse to force when there was just cause. In his work of political philosophy *Politics*, Aristotle defended waging war for creating 'good life' for a community remarking that "war must therefore be regarded as only a means to peace" (Arend and Beck, 1993, p. 12).

Greatest Christian theologian Augustine (354 AD- 430 AD) also vindicated the use of force to protect peace and eliminate evils. Nine hundred years later philosopher and theologian Thomas Aquinas further developed Augustine Christian's war doctrine and provided three conditions to recourse force: proper authority, just purpose and right intention. Writers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries developed *jus ad bellum* principles (a criterion that is referred before engaging in war) (Ibid, p.12-16; Fixdal and Smith, 1998, p.286-287). Since then the just war philosophers, legal scholars and practitioners developed a set of threshold conditions in the event of recourse to force have influenced tradition.

The concept of Humanitarian Intervention (HI) which was widely recognised in the aftermath of the end of the cold war in 1990s as a result of the occurrence of intra state wars across the globe posing serious threats to human rights. This has its roots in the just war tradition (see Heir, 2013).

As Anthony Clark Arend and Robert J. Beck define, "the use of armed forces by a State (or States) to protect citizens of the target State from large scale human rights violations" (Arend and Beck, 1993, p.113) known as HI. For Holzgrefe (2003), HI is a forcible action without the consent of the sovereign states to prevent mass atrocity crimes and human rights violations.

In this manner, the just war tradition evolved as a modified applied tool in the form of HI. In the meantime, in parallel to the development of HI, the concept of non-interventionism gradually came into prominence in comfort with the changing world order towards the nature of the system of sovereign States. The treaty of Westphalia signed in 1648 led to the

emergence of State systems and developed eventually to the concept of sovereignty (Arend and Beck, 1993, p. 12-16).

The development of the conflicting demands of these two concepts such as the HI anchored in the just war tradition and non-interventionism grounded in the Westphalian paradigm pushes them in diverging directions and thus creating a tension between them. This tension on one hand functions as a barrier against the application of HI in times of humanitarian crisis and human rights violations. The other functions serve as a preventive weapon against any politically motivated abuses of the HI. In other words, this tension enables the international community to endeavour for a legitimate intervention in the context of international relations and international law.

International relations theories such as realism, Pluralism and solidarism provide better insights on the question of, under which conditions could the legitimate intervention be considered.

Origin of the theory of realism goes back to the period of Thucydides (460–411 B.C.E). For realist thinkers, states which worry much about their national security and function with the aim to protect and promote their national interests and power, are the primary players in the international arena. Thus ethics is not considered as important as sovereignty of the states (Ozdemir, 2011, p.107 & 114). However, not all the thinkers of realism blindly ignore the value of ethics in international relations. Though the classical realist thought originated in the post-world war period was critical of moralism, they didn't reject ethical dimension in international politics. They emphasised cautiousness in political actions to avoid disorder in international systems (Korab-Karpowicz, J, 2013). Thus, for realists, intervention can be driven as a legitimate one when national security is at stake and international balance of power is at risk as a result of anarchy (Almeida, 2002, p. 158-161, Ozdemir, 2011).

Pluralism and solidarism are two varying but mutually influencing concepts of the English School of international relations. International society is the centre of the approach of the English school (Keating, 2013, Ludlow, 2009). According to Bull, international society denotes (Bull, 1977, p.13):

When a group of states, conscious of certain common interests and common values, form a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions.

From a pluralist perspective, the common interests and values in the international society are grounded in the philosophies of sovereignty and non- intervention of the Westphalian model. The concern for the world order is the first reason for them to oppose intervention for the following reasons: 1. Interventions are likely to fuel war crisis and anarchy. 2. Maintaining the balance of power and international order are imperative than protecting minority rights and preventing humanitarian crisis. 3. Achieving international consensus on a legitimate intervention is difficult and therefore pursuing interventions without international consensus will destabilise the international order (Almeida, 2002, p. 162-163, Keating, 2013).

The second reason why pluralist opposes intervention is because it denies the sovereign rights of states and violates the rights of states to have their domestic sphere of jurisdiction respected. Therefore, intervention is wrong in terms of legal and moral standards. The third reason is because powerful countries may abuse the intervention as a tool to achieve political and territorial extensions. Consequently, interventions with the right intentions may later become self-serving (Almeida, 2002, Keating, 2013, Ludlow, 2009).

The problem of selectivity is the fourth reason why pluralists oppose intervention. Powerful countries not only have national interest, but also have the problem of selectivity, and as a result powerful countries would tend to think of interventions if their national interest can benefit (Ibid).

In spite of their strong opposition to intervention, like realists, pluralists also share the view of conducting minimal humanitarian intervention when national security is at stake. Another important reason among many others which pluralists accept for legitimate interventions is mass atrocity crimes. However, they do not consider this intervention as an obligation; instead they want it to be an effect of a careful assessment of political circumstances (Ibid, p.164, Ludlow, 2009).

To summarise this discussion, danger to international order and security is the main cause that defends intervention. The political goal associated with the intervention is associated

with maintaining the international order. However, pluralists have a narrow vision of international order, which concerns for the relationship between sovereign states, however does not care about the quality of life within sovereign states by means of democracy, good governance and protecting human rights (ibid).

In contrast, solidarists' view of international society is relatively much wider in its vision giving significant weight to cooperation, coexistence and individual rights within the context of international law. Therefore, explicitly unlike pluralists, solidarists give less significance to sovereignty and non-interventionism. Thus, it longs for equal rights to everyone; thereby transforming individual states juridical towards an international cosmopolitan society (refer Costa, 2014).

With regard to the question of intervention, the argument of solidarists is that tolerance and acceptance of injustice within a country in order to respect the principle of non-intervention and sovereignty is an ignorance of moral responsibility of the international society. They argue that the international community is morally obliged to prevent violation of human rights. This is why they want to link both human rights and humanitarian intervention within the principle of cosmopolitan morality, basic natural rights and global society (Almeida, 2002; Ludlow, 2009).

Subsequent to the end of the cold war, the solidarist approach was attracted by legal and moral considerations. Although HI was considered as a legal and moral method under the solidarist tradition, the just cause element of the solidarist concept made it a supreme humanitarian intervention. Subsequently, a moral responsibility of the international community was felt to prevent human rights violations wherever they would occur. Under this moral responsibility, HI with the genuine aim to prevent human rights in a sovereign state is legitimate under a legal consensus of the international community. In other words, HI is a morally accepted violation of the principles of sovereignty and non-intervention (Ibid).

From a solidarist standpoint, the answers to the question of causes show three similarities with the pluralist standpoint. As in the case of pluralism, 1. HI is a moral requirement. 2. HI is a legal requirement. 3. A transition to the world's society. As for the second question of *who*, it can be either a collective-authorised intervention based on international consensus or unilateral HI based on strong moral ground. Like in pluralism tradition, the

third question of *political power* draws the attention to the maintenance of international order (Ibid). The illustration 1 below summarises and compares the main characteristics of the three schools of thoughts.

Illustration 1 Key Characteristics of the three school of thoughts

The Realist School	English school of Pluralist	English school of Solidarist
States are primary players	International society is the main player	International society is the main player
Ethics is not important as sovereignty of the states	Grounded in the philosophies of sovereignty and non-intervention of the Westphalian model	Tolerance and acceptance of injustice such as human rights violations is an ignorance of moral responsibility of IC
Emphasises cautiousness in political actions to avoid anarchy	Opposes interventions: 1. Fuels war and anarchy. 2. Balance of power and international order are imperative than rights & sufferings 3. International consensus is difficult & will destabilise the international order 4. Violates sovereignty 5. Political abuses 6. Selectivity	Influenced by legal and moral considerations.
When national security is at stake and international balance of power is in risk as a result of anarchy	-National security is at stake and mass atrocity crimes. -Not an obligation, but based on the assessment of political situation	Prevent HR in a sovereign state is legitimate under a legal consensus of IC. -States lose their sovereign rights
Causes: threat to national security and balance of power of the international system	Causes: Danger to international order and security	Causes: moral & legal requirement of IC and transition to world society
Who : Unilateral intervention	Who: Collective interventions or intervention of a single state with the authorisation UN	Who: Collective-authorised intervention based on international consensus or unilateral HI based on strong moral ground
Goal: National security and maintenance of the balance of power	Goal: Maintaining the international order. Narrow vision of international order	Goal: Maintenance of international order

The position of the international community at present with regard to HI is established between pluralist and solidarist traditions, but towards pluralism in terms of practices and more towards solidarism in terms of will. The existence of these two traditions in the current international order creates a tension which is destructive and constructive at times. However, it could be said that the political actions of the global states with regard to the HI in the contemporary world setting is to a certain extent considered within the solidarist order.

The next section of this chapter involves a discussion of the history and development of R2P and examines its viability within the context of solidarist tradition.

2.2 The Idea of Responsibility to Protect (R2P)

HIIs led by UN in Somalia, and Bosnia proved it as unsuccessful, and shattered the image of UN. This failure prompted regional organisations and powerful states to intervene in the conflict without any authorisation. In many instances, these interventions too were proved unproductive. The failure of the international community to prevent the horrifying humanitarian disasters such as the ones in Rwanda, Congo and Sudan forced the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan to appeal to the world leaders at the UN General Assembly in 1999. The UN General Assembly at the Millennium Summit in the year 2000 suggested alternative mechanisms to prevent mass atrocities in conflict ridden countries from the philosophies of sovereignty and non- intervention, in an appropriate and cooperative manner (Gierych, 2010, p.112).

In response to Kofi Annan's appeal the Canadian government in the year 2000 appointed the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), which comprised of eminent persons to come up with a plan substituting the HI (Dharmapuri, 2012, p.242). Subsequent to this was the publication of the report "The Responsibility to protect" (R2P) in December 2001. Hence, it can be said that R2P is a response against the criticisms of the failing concept of HI.

As the ICISS report details on R2P comprises of three specific responsibilities: responsibility to prevent, responsibility to react and responsibility to rebuild. The responsibility to prevent primarily focuses on preventing mass atrocity crimes and prevents potential crimes before they transpire. While this stresses the importance of addressing direct and indirect causes as well as immediate long terms consequences of intra state conflicts and other man-made crises, it puts the populations at risk. This 'responsibility to react' advocates 'interventions' during crisis situations through sanctions and international prosecutions, and in extreme cases via military interventions. 'Responsibility to rebuild' emphasises the role of the international community to extend relief, rehabilitation, reconstruction and as well as reconcile assistance after the coercive intervention (ICISS, 2001, XI).

With reference to its option on military intervention, the commission argued that the international community's responsibility to take coercive measures override the territorial sovereignty in times of serious humanitarian needs (Ibid; Wheeler and Egerton, 2008). The philosophy of this argument is based on the ground-breaking book published by renowned Sudanese scholar Francis Deng and his Associates at the Brooking Institution "Sovereignty as Responsibility: Conflict Management in Africa". This book argues against the 'Treaty of Westphalia' that when states fail to conduct their internal matters in compliance with international standards, "other nations not only have the right, but also have a duty to intervene" (Deng et al, 1996; Etzioni, 2006, p.71). He emphasised that the right of non-interference of states is lawful as long as they protect their own population and their rights. This denotes that sovereignty is not unconditional, and can be dishonoured if human rights are not adequately protected (Deng, 2009b, p.249-251). By this way, the ICISS report shifted the position of sovereignty from 'unconditional' to 'conditional' and shifted its role as 'impunity' to 'responsibility'. In this manner, as we can see, the ICISS gives significant weight to protect human rights by recognising the morally acceptance of HI in sovereign states.

The ICISS report attempted to minimise the option of military intervention and maximise the means of non-military intervention through a clear code of conduct. The report advocated military intervention as a last recourse of action in the situations of "large scale loss of life" or "large scale ethnic cleansing". The report also recommended that approval for such a military intervention should be either from the Security Council or UN General Assembly in a special emergency session (Gierych, 2010, p.113).

In other words, on one hand, the ICISS report regarded 'sovereignty as responsibility' and on the other, regarded the international community, in particularly the UN Security Council as the responsible body for the maintenance of international peace and security under Article 24 (ICISS, 2001). Nevertheless, the ICISS did not explicitly define the nature and scope of 'responsibility' and its sources.

Releasing "A more secure World" Document in 2004, the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change endorsed the concept of R2P proposed by the ICISS commission (A More Secure World Report, 2004). However, this document too failed to clarify the nature and scope of the 'responsibility' and its sources.

2.2.1 The UN Debate on R2P

In the following year 2005, speaking on his “In Larger Freedom” document, Secretary-General Kofi Annan invited the Security Council to reach agreement on the principles set out in the “A more secure World” Document in 2004 and adopted a set of criteria for intervention (Larger Freedom Document, 2005, p. 35). There was a strong argument against the proposal for the adoption criteria that said, it will enable powerful states to circumvent Council authority. China and Russia insisted that any such criteria should include a clause conditioning and intervention that is being authorised by the Security Council (see, Wheeler and Egerton, 2008).

However, the United Nations General Assembly in the World Summit 2005 unanimously adopted R2P concept with an inclusion of a ‘protection clause’ in its document at 138 & 139 paragraphs (World Summit Document, 2005). Paragraph 138 clearly underlines the following: “Each individual State has the responsibility to protect its populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity”. Meanwhile, paragraph 139 emphasises that “The international community, through the United Nations, also has the responsibility to use appropriate diplomatic, humanitarian and other peaceful means, in accordance with Chapters VI and VIII of the Charter, to help to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity.....”

Thereby, the World Summit Document advanced the R2P norm from the perspective of normative to operational, and made it authoritative. The document also, to a certain extent, clarified the nature and scope of the ‘responsibility’ on the part of sovereign states and international community (Ibid; Bellamy, 2009). This in a way is a clever attempt to ease the tension between the traditions of pluralism and solidarism by recognising the juridical capacity of the sovereign states and by giving them the responsibility to address the issues first. Meanwhile, by giving the original responsibility to the states by recognising their sovereignty, the World Summit Document embraces the abuser as a partner in the process and thereby makes it more cooperative in the international context.

The UN Security Council in April 2006 reaffirmed the agreement reached by the world leaders at the World Summit in the previous year on the collective “responsibility to protect” and made the document more authoritative (Gierych, 2010, p.114).

In 2009, UN General Assembly, newly elected Secretary General Ban Ki-moon presented his report “Implementing the Responsibility to protect” reaffirming the World Summit Document of 2005. The “Implementing the Responsibility to Protect” document refined the ‘protection clause’ of “The World Summit Document of 2005” into three pillars of the R2P in an attempt to find ways of implementing its decisions in a fully faithful and consistent manner: 1. The protection responsibilities of the State 2. International assistance and capacity-building 3. Timely and decisive response. The first pillar placed the primary responsibility on the States to protect its populations from genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing, and their incitement. Meanwhile, the second pillar placed the responsibility on the international community to encourage and assist the States in fulfilling their responsibility. The third pillar placed the responsibility on the international community to use diplomatic, humanitarian and other means including military intervention as a last resort when a state manifestly fails to protect its populations (Implementing the Responsibility to Protect, 2009, p.4, 8-9).

The discussion so far shows the evolution of the concept of R2P towards a rights based approach. Drawing an understanding from the thought of solidarism, by the rights based approach; this study means the process of safeguarding human rights and security in line with a set of rights and obligations, established by international law and Universal Declaration of Human Rights that overrides sovereignty.

2.2.2 R2P as a Right based Multidimensional Approach

Although, the ICISS report tends to minimise the militaristic intervention aspect, it recommended a ‘just cause threshold’ for the humanitarian military intervention in an exceptional and extraordinary way that is broader in scope (ICISS, 2001, p.xii). However, the report made its implementation subject to the approval of the Security Council in compliance with its responsibility obligation for the maintenance of peace and security under United Nations Charter as well as the human rights law and humanitarian law. This valued sovereignty of a state as responsibility (Ibid).

As observed already, ‘A More Secure World Report’, published in 2004 endorsed the ‘collective international responsibility to protect’, which was exercised by the Security Council authorizing military intervention as a last resort (A More Secure World Report, 2004, p. 66). The ‘protection clause’ (paragraphs 138 and 139) included in the ‘World Summit Outcome’ iterates the responsibility of the states to prevent its citizens from gross

human rights violations under customary and treaty international human rights law and international human rights law (Gierych, 2010, p.119).

Meanwhile, 'Implementing the Responsibility to Protect' document that was published in 2009 placed the methods, validity and scope of the 'protection clause' adopted in the 'World Summit Outcome of 2005' within the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations that called on the member states to institutionalise the doctrine (Implementing the Responsibility to Protect, 2009, p.5).

On this premise, the document argued that "the responsibility to protect does not alter, indeed it reinforces, the legal obligations of member states to refrain from the use of force except in conformity with the Charter" (Ibid).

Hence, the implementation of R2P can be viewed as a legal obligation and the international community can only act upon a moral responsibility (Bolton, 2005). Moreover, R2P significantly differs entirely from HI, which is generally a military intervention (Pattinson, 2010, p.25). In contrast to the HI, R2P provides a range of preventive and reactive responses such as political, diplomatic and economic incentives and sanctions (Ibid, p.26).

It is very clear from the three responsibilities of R2P mentioned in the ICISS report that the crux of this doctrine is not only to prevent mass atrocity crimes within the context of human rights, but also to create a lasting peace within both human rights and peace principles. Therefore, it is clear that R2P doctrine is grounded in 'multidimensional' concepts, as opposed to the 'one-dimensional' concept of humanitarian intervention" (Evans and Thakur, 2013, p.200).

This multidimensional nature of R2P with its holistic approach to a great extent can be supported by Peace scholar Johan Galtung's Violence Triangle theory, which explains three types of violence such as direct, structural and cultural (1969). Moreover, Galtung's notion of creating a positive peace by addressing all forms of violence goes parallel with Lisa Schirch's 'just peace framework' within the principles of human rights and peace (2002). This, in turn, resonates with Kant's philosophical construction of the human rights and peace connection. How these three theories facilitate each other and provide fertile epistemological platform for the implementation of R2P will be explained in chapter 4.

In addition, the ‘protection clause’ of R2P provides alternatives solutions to address mass atrocity crimes and creates solutions to address them. In the post-conflict situations, it focuses on recovery, reconstruction and reconciliation with the aim of addressing the causes of the harm and brings about a lasting solution. This nature and scope of R2P can be characterized as ‘solution oriented’. While focusing on preventing strategies, R2P equally concentrates on addressing root causes and likely solutions to conflict with the aim of creating steps in preventing conflict escalation and enhancing peace prospects, and thus it can be characterized as ‘peace oriented’. The focus of R2P is on the plights, sufferings, difficulties, atrocities and cruelties faced by people, and their human rights and good life within sovereign states by creating a system for placing the individuals at a position controlled by international law. Therefore, it can be described as “people oriented”.

It is also appropriate to characterize R2P as ‘truth oriented’, as it seeks to propose responses, based on information analysis. This is where; senior United Nations official Dorota Gierych’s idea of the ‘assessment of human rights record’ of States as a basis for an appropriate response fits in. In other words, it calls for the establishment of a *prima facie case* (see Williams et al, 2012, p. 490). Gierych emphasizes that establishment of a monitoring mechanism to scrutinise the states under their protection obligations, anchored in international legal instruments can be an assessment tool to decide on the application of the ‘protection clause’ in an appropriate manner (2010, p. 119). This is where, journalists as truth seekers can play a vital role to establish *prima facie case* of a violent situation. How media can facilitate the implementation of R2P in an appropriate manner is explained in detail in chapter 4.

Despite this truth dimension, R2P in its pillar approach, as underlined already, draws inspiration from both pluralist and solidarist traditions, and thus it shows a cooperative aspect set out in its first two pillars. This cooperative aspect reduces the pluralists’ tension with the idea of transformative cosmopolitan agenda. In the event of failure in its approach through the first two pillars, the third pillar of R2P suggests for a rights based approach. However, R2P’s three responsibilities remain rooted in the principle of conflict transformation. Conversely, the conflict transformation dimension becomes prominent within the three progressive stages of obligation (preventing, reacting, rebuilding) (Ramsbotham et al, 2011; Galtung and Fischer, 2013) of the R2P doctrine.

Through this discussion, it becomes clear that R2P can be considered as a right based multidimensional approach anchored in the just- peace framework. Moral Philosopher Hugh Breakey's five-dimensional rights-based analysis of norms also validates this argument that R2P provides multi-layered rights protection (Breakey, 2012). According to Hugh Breakey, R2P provides this multi-pronged rights protection through its use of backup and open-ended duties. The backup protection is clearly set out in the three pillars, that the first backup requires States to perform the role of a protector. When a state fails in its role, the second backup will require the international community to assist the State to fulfil its responsibility. In the case of a state's complete failure, then the third backup will demand the international community to take over the role of the protector (Breakey, 2012, p.33-34).

In order to influence a genuine protection through the identification of relevant obliged responsible holder (s), R2P leaves this process open. As Hugh Breakey explains, R2P, as a paradigm of a rights-based norm, anchors itself on 'Responsibility' and identifies a set of agents whose roles are to protect the rights (Ibid). Nevertheless, although the World Summit Document of 2005 entrusts the responsibility to the Security Council as the appropriate legitimate body, it doesn't clarify who exactly holds the obligations and how they should exercise their responsibility in a particular situation (Ibid). Hence, this aspect of identifying 'relevant obliged responsible holders' and the path of execution remains an important part of the process, which has been left undecided in order for it to be resolved situationally and contextually. Scholars in the recent years have argued that the Security Council cannot be held as the only responsible body for the implementation of R2P. While acknowledging the coordinating role of the United Nations and the requirement for the authorisation of the Security Council in the case of a military intervention, scholars have argued that a relevant obliged responsible holder can be determined in terms of two properties: effectiveness and legitimacy (Pattison, 2010).

Political Scientist James Pattison in his ground breaking book "Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect: Who Should Intervene?" argues the point that effectiveness and legitimacy are the determinants that should be taken into account to decide on the qualification of an intervener of a given case involving a large-scale violation of human rights. The interveners can be states, coalitions of states, international bodies such as NATO, etc. (Ibid, p.74-75).

Characterising legitimacy as a scalar concept, Pattison explains that legitimacy as a ‘morally justifiable power’ can determine an “intervener possessing full legitimacy and intervener possessing an adequate degree of legitimacy” (Pattison, 2010, p.32):

The degree of legitimacy is decided by a number of qualities such as effectiveness, representativeness, legality etc. On the other hand, as Pattison elucidates, an intervener can also have varying degrees of these qualities, of which ‘effectiveness’ is considered as the most important quality to be a legitimate actor (Ibid).

In this manner, James Pattison’s elucidation to the question of ‘who is entitled to intervene’ is a very creative way of moving the position of R2P from pluralist (collective or unilateral interventions with the approval of UN) to solidarist (collective or unilateral interventions with the approval of UN or a collective authority or strong morality without the approval of UN).

With this theoretical background of R2P, this chapter now moves on to discuss how the international community failed to consider R2P options in line with its pillar and responsibility approaches to prevent the mass atrocity crimes during the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka.

2.3 The Sri Lankan case; a humanitarian tragedy

The war between the Sri Lankan state and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) has a long history dating back from 1970s to 2009. From 1983 to 2009, the LTTE waged four Eelam wars against the successive Sri Lankan governments. The decisive Eelam War IV started in July, 2006, ended in May, 2009 with the military defeat of the LTTE (Rotberg, 1999, p.27; McConnell, 2008). However, the period selected for the analysis in this study is between September, 2007 and May, 2009, during which the humanitarian crisis took place.

In 2007, the Sri Lankan government formally started its military offensive in the Vanni¹ region, which was the last remaining LTTE controlled area. In September, 2008, the Government launched its final move towards Kilinochchi. At the same time the Government ordered the UN to leave from the Vanni region as it could no longer guarantee

¹The Vanni is the name given to the mainland area of the Northern Province of Sri Lanka. It covers the entirety of Mannar, Mullaitivu and Vavuniya Districts, and most of Kilinochchi District.

safety for its staff. Artillery shells originated from the Government forces started attacking the UN compounds in Kilinochchi during the first week of September, 2008. The UN recalled all international staff, which resulted in ending all UN humanitarian assistance in the Vanni region (UN Internal Review Report, 2012, Para 14, 26, 31 &38; Ratner, 2012.p.796). The withdrawal of the UN led to severe curtailment of humanitarian work in the area at a time when the need for such services was greater than ever. Despite appeals and warnings about severe humanitarian crisis by civil society organisations and human rights organisations, the UN went ahead with its decision to pull out from the LTTE controlled areas (UN Internal Review Report, 2012, Para 37).

When the UN was pulling its staff out of Vanni, hundreds of civilians gathered outside the offices of the agencies, pleading the aid personnel to stay and continue their humanitarian work. Nevertheless, by the end of September, 2008, the UN completely withdrew from its humanitarian works leaving thousands of people in a dire situation (Veerasingham, 2012; Panel of Experts Report, 2012, Para 14). "We are pulling out reluctantly" because of the aerial bombing and artillery shelling, the UN spokesman in Colombo, Gordon Weiss told the BBC service on 16th September, 2008 (BBC, 2008). It was high time for the UN to implement its 'responsibility to prevent' of R2P to prevent from the crisis turning into a catastrophe. This was the first blunder and the beginning of the failure of the UN to implement R2P throughout the crisis, even though it was the right time for them to reiterate Sri Lanka's responsibility to protect its own people.

The decision of the UN to withdraw from the LTTE controlled areas of the Vanni, encouraged the Government of Sri Lanka to pursue a 'war without witnesses', killing tens of thousands of people. Neither journalists nor aid workers of any non-governmental organisations were given access to the war zone. Hence, the decision of the UN to pull-out from Vanni created a comfortable 'operational space' for the Sri Lankan government to use banned weapons such as chemical weapons and cluster bombs (See Groundviews, 2012). This in response made the people to starve and become fearful of their lives. According to the UN panel of report; the Sri Lankan forces shelled hospitals and no fire zones, executed the surrendered people and raped women. The panel also accused the LTTE for preventing the civilians from escaping and using civilians as human shields (Panel of Experts Report, 2011.p.ii-iii).

Therefore, the point of departure of the alleged large-scale crimes against humanity committed during the last phase of the war starts from the time when the UN left Vanni in September, 2008.

On the other hand, having pulled out from Vanni, the UN had a responsibility and obligation to adopt alternative strategies to address the plight of the people and prevent humanity from being destroyed. This was the right time for the UN to implement its 'responsibility to react' and prevent the massacre of people, war crimes and crimes against humanity. If the UN had implemented its responsibility to react under the R2P norm, it would have prevented the killings of thousands of people. But, the UN failed to do so, just as it did during September, 2008. Thus, this failure to invoke the 'responsibility to react' was the second strategic mistake of the UN. The application of the 'responsibility to react' could have been much possible through strategic use of diplomacy, persuasion and projection of power.

However, the behaviour of the UN agencies before and during the military offense, illustrates that severe mistakes had been made. Consequently, the Sri Lankan Government executed the final stages of the war by committing serious war crimes.

Professor Damien Kingsbury of Deakin University blames the UN by saying, that its failure to act throughout the Sri Lankan conflict enabled the war to become so brutal and to be won by one party in May, 2009 with the massacre of thousands of people and severe human rights abuses (Kingsbury, 2012, p.8). He examines the ways, and the extent to which the Sri Lankan civil war might have invoked R2P principles and, how the crisis in Sri Lanka may still do so by addressing the issues and challenges by facing the implementation of R2P (Ibid).

The UN Internal Review report found that the UN failed in its mandate to protect civilians in the last months of civil war in Sri Lanka. The report strongly criticised its own officials for failing to protect civilians during the last days of the war, underlining its ineffectiveness and inefficiency to save lives (UN Internal Review Report, 2012).

According to the report, the UN staff favoured bureaucratic stratagems, by trading off civilian lives against misconceived priorities. The report also found the operation of the UN in Sri Lanka, as crippled by a lack of experience and susceptible to government intimidation. As the report says, many senior UN staff did not perceive the prevention of

killing of civilians as their responsibility, and agency and the department heads at UN [headquarters] were not instructing them otherwise (Ibid, Para 13,14, 28 & 44).

The failure of the implementation of R2P in Sri Lanka could be related to desensitization, lack of global compassion, awareness, cosmopolitan responsibility and de-politicisation of the sufferings and human rights violations of the war in 2009. In this context a question arises as to how media can play an important role to influence the international community to evoke R2P to prevent the human rights violations by establishing a 'regime of truth'.

This is where a question arises as to whether this disastrous situation could have been avoided if the media played its human rights oriented reporting and demonstrated its watchdog function. This creates a research need to examine the extent to which the international media reported the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka in a manner to construct the R2P options.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter firstly explained how the just war tradition evolved as a modified applied tool in the form of HI. Having compared and contrasted the realist, pluralist, and solidarist theories of international relations, this chapter explained the fertile of the solidarist order for the implementation of R2P. This chapter also explained in detail about the nature and scope of R2P as a rights based multi-dimensional approach within human rights and peace principles. This chapter also explained the relevance of the R2P application and its responsibility to the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka.

Chapter 3: The Problems faced whilst dealing with Conventional War Journalism in a form of Human Wrongs Journalism²

3.0 Introduction

The second chapter focused on explaining and arguing about the R2P theory and its need to be considered as a 'rights based multidimensional' approach. It also discussed, the need for R2P to be set as a foundation for this thesis in the practice of human rights based reporting in a humanitarian crisis war. Furthermore, the previous chapter also discussed the factors that conditioned the implementation of R2P within the contexts of the varying nature of the international relations theory.

Although, R2P has been established within the UN system, the implementation of this mechanism, as underlined in the previous chapter, has been very challenging in many instances of the humanitarian crisis wars in the world. Equally, a legitimate fear amongst the small countries that this human rights mechanism may serve as a license to intervene in their internal affairs remains too. Primarily, reaching a global consensus was identified as the biggest barrier against the implementation of R2P.

It was against this backdrop that the previous chapter underlined the potential role of the media to depoliticise the application of R2P by means of mediating the tension between the geopolitics and the upholding of international norms. This was done through the construction of 'prima facie case of human rights violations' with the human rights discourse. Particularly, the importance of a human rights oriented approach of the media was highlighted, in order to create an awareness among relevant actors. This implementation of R2P was done by exposing all forms of human rights violations of the states through objective assessments of the violations. In other words, it calls for the establishment of prima facie case to construct the reality of crisis situations.

² This chapter is a revised, shortened and updated version of two chapters of my earlier study titled "Theory and Practice of Peace Journalism in the Global South with Special Reference to Nepal and Sri Lanka" Submitted to the University of Wales in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Philosophy in Media and Communication at Swansea University in 2012.

Therefore, this study necessarily requires an in depth discussion on the role of the media to foster and safeguard human rights in times of crisis and facilitate peace-building. However, before embarking on such a discussion it is important to discuss the role of conventional journalism in the reporting of conflicts and wars in this regard, and identify if there are any shortcomings/or defects with the conventional war journalism to play the expected role.

On this premise, this chapter is devoted to exploring the failings of conventional war journalism, particularly as identified by advocates of alternative journalism models such as Peace Journalism (PJ) and Human Rights Journalism (HRJ). These shortcomings of conventional journalism, in the view of Ibrahim Seaga Shaw are caused due to the dysfunctional practice of the media, which he terms as ‘Human Wrongs Journalism’ (HWJ) (Shaw 2012).

The issues raised here show the concerns about the contemporary practice of journalism in serving the needs and expectations of the current global society, and in particular to represent victims of violence and being part of a global voice. These are the issues that will be dealt with in this chapter, so that the next chapter (4) will be in a much better position to discuss in detail about the way the journalism can be reshaped and practiced within the context of peace and human rights principles. Furthermore, as an alternative to the identified failings of the conventional war journalism, and to better respond to the humanitarian crisis in times of conflicts.

This chapter is primarily divided into two sections. The first describes the problems of war reporting, particularly the restraints imposed on adhering to the concept of “objectivity”. It also discusses how its prevailing work conventions [the reliance on official sources, the favouring of events over processes and the focus on “dualism” (Zero-Sum game) in reporting conflicts] mean that conventional war journalisms reinforce war and conflict by drawing attention to the “us” and “them” division, the effects of violence, and the activities and operations of the military. This section also looks at patterns of conventional war reporting, such as how the coverage of war reporters have more often reproduced the propaganda of the military, focused on the progress to victory, rather than the efforts to expose all forms of violence, and support peace-building efforts within the context of Gatling’s negative peace and positive peace. The second section focusses on the debates around the alternate forms of journalism in response to the failings of conventional war journalism such as Peace Journalism (PJ). This section attempts to understand the concept

of PJ by describing the features by its principal founder John Galtung and the exponents, Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick. Furthermore, it focuses on the debates around PJ, in particular by understanding the criticism of professionals and academics on PJ.

3.1 The Challenges of War Reporting

In recent years, human rights issues have become more important in public policy and the public opinion as the discourse of global civil society has rapidly changed. Media as one of the central components of the norm of global civil society has a moral responsibility to focus its attention on the issues of human rights and play a caring and educative role with the view to protect and promote human rights in times of conflicts by exposing abuses and their underlying causes wherever they occur, as part of its 'fourth estate' role. This role requires the media to demonstrate 'news analysis' in its coverage of conflicts as much as possible, so that it can help construct the reality of conflict situations and enable human rights advocates and conflict resolution practitioners to deal with the situations.

Dissemination of information of oppression, suppression and injustice can serve both as a means and as an end to the promotion and protection of human rights and peace. Media by performing the role of an 'information provider' and 'opinion former' can contribute to the creation of peace, which is also indispensable for human rights promotion and protection. As Shaw emphasises (2012, p.2):

Journalists not only hold the power to inform the public, connect people in different parts of the world and promote public knowledge and understanding of issues and events, but, more importantly, have the moral responsibility – as duty bearers- to educate the public, increase awareness in its members of their rights and monitor, investigate and report all human rights violations.

At present this is not done well enough and, as a result, audiences who rely on the media to inform them are not in a position to understand or judge the violations of rights, actions, policies of governments and other authorities to respond to the crisis appropriately. Media does not cover human rights issues accurately and abundantly, and in many instances they report the issues and incidents in a subjective manner by covering only political and civil rights, and thereby ignoring the economic, social and cultural rights (ICHRP, 2002). This dysfunctional behaviour with regard to the obligation of the media to protect and promote human rights is largely influenced by socio-economic, cultural and political aspects. This

is particularly true in the case of conflict and war situations (Williams, 1992, Kempf and Reimann, 2002, Luostarinen, 2002 and Kempf, 2003), and as a result fails to create opportunities for stakeholders to address the problems in a holistic and rightful manner.

Conventional journalistic practice by both local and international media, as highlighted by Ibrahim Seaga Shaw (2011, p. 97) tend to interpret the human rights violations, “as the actions of individual perpetrators, not as the product of a system/structure that constructs and sustains long-term relations in Conflict”. This reporting style often fails to expose the underlying causes of human rights violations and how it functions as causes of violent conflicts (ibid).

Proponents of alternative forms of journalism such as PJ and HRJ, accuse the conventional journalistic practices as driven by the factor of ‘other’, and as often being part of the problem than the solution for the realization of negative peace and positive peace as well as negative rights and positive rights. Lynch and McGoldrick, describe conventional war reporting as an “exercise in framing, without implying that journalists are actively conspiring in some kind of plot to bamboozle the public into supporting wars” (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2007, p.258). Practicing war correspondents and human rights activists have both expressed their concerns about the role of conventional war reporting in providing support for wars. The former complain about the constraints imposed on them by the concept of “objectivity”, while the latter draw attention to the role of conventional journalism in promoting war through several orientations: towards violence, towards propaganda, towards support for the interpretations of elites and towards victory. These concerns expressed by the war correspondents and human rights activists are discussed in this section. This section, first discusses how journalists perceive the concept of “objectivity” in their practice of journalism in times of conflict. Secondly it explores the prevailing conventions (such as the biases in favour of official sources, in favour of event over process and in favour of dualism in reporting conflicts that make conventional war journalism supportive of war (Lynch, 2008, p.25). The following section shows that these conventions are manifested in a particular pattern of coverage.

3.1.1 Debate around Objectivity

Objectivity has been seen as a problem for scholars who view journalism as defense to safeguard human rights. John Merrill, a journalism scholar and professor, defines the term “objectivity” as “detached, unprejudiced, un-opinionated, uninvolved, unbiased,

omniscient and infallible” (quoted in Friedman, 2004, p.164). The journalistic ethics, demand journalists to keep an emotional distance with their work. In other words, it requires an unbiased approach when it comes to comprehending the journalistic works.

As explained by McNair, meaning of objectivity refers to,

“a method of gathering and processing news which requires the profession by organizations of editorial resources, which is independent of ideology in so far as it can command universal acceptance of its reliability; which thus generate trust in the truth value of its reportage, leading to a perception of authority in respects of the interpretations of placed upon the facts reported (2013, p84).

The gap between objectivity and practicality of employing objectivity in everyday activities of journalism has been questioned and commended by many scholars (Tuchman, 1972; McLaughlin, 2002). Some express that it is very difficult keep objectivity in every aspect in the practical context of journalism, although objectivity is seen to be the key principle of journalism.

Tuchman (1972) views objectivity as a routine procedure which protects the reporter from critics and mistakes. Meanwhile, Altschull (1984, p. 128) views objectivity as a “code” which “assists power in the capitalist world to maintain social order and to fix limits to departures from ideological orthodoxy. It safeguards the system against the explosive pressure for change”.

For McGoldrick (2006), many journalists consider themselves as objective but there is a “discernible pattern” to their coverage, which, in the case of conventional war reporting, is pro-war. This doesn’t mean that they are not objective, but the industry often defines objectivity in the form of responding to the socio-economic context that they operate in.

Journalist and Editor Herbert Brucker has suggested seven ingredients that he believes guide journalists along the path of objectivity: (1) correspondence to reality, (2) accuracy, (3) lack of bias, (4) honesty, (5) fairness, (6) completeness, and (7) dispassion. In consonance with these guiding principles, according to Bruker (1969), journalists and their audience tend to believe that keeping the objectivity doctrine as much as possible allows them to do a good job. Almost all working journalists are familiar with the accusations of not being objective or supporting one side in politics or war. However, the professional demand for objectivity in journalism is high, and at the same time paying too much of attention to objectivity can kill the truth. A popular British reporter James Cameron has

written that objectivity is of less importance than truth, and keeping to objectivity in situations which would involve some sort of ethical conflict is both meaningless and impossible (cited in Tumber and Webster, 2006, p.169; see McGoldrick, 2006).

Maggie O’Kane of *The Guardian* says that objectivity and truth are always not the same. According to O’Kane, the truth is not always objective but the latter has to be the highest goal for a journalist. Talking of her experience in Bosnia, she says that ethnic cleansing is a one-sided event, and there is nothing objective about it (Kane, 2002). Taking no side in a situation of violent crisis disregarding the perpetrator and victim is certainly a distortion of reality (McNair, 2013). On the other hand, as journalist Kemal Kurspahic, who covered the war in Bosnia argues, “Journalists can be perfectly objective without necessarily being neutral” (Kurspahic, 2003, p.80; see Nieman Reports, 2003, p. 79-80). Veteran ITN reporter Michael Nicholson is one of the disillusioned: “No, I don’t believe in this so-called objectivity. You can still report the facts. You can still be as close to the truth as any person can be and still show a commitment, an emotional anguish. I don’t see them to be contradictory” (quoted in McLaughlin, 2002, p.154).

Such concerns have led to what British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) correspondent Martin Bell has called the “Journalism of Attachment” (Bell, 2008, p.15). For Bell, objective and dispassionate journalism does not have a place amidst war and human atrocities (McLaughlin, 2002, p.152–154; Kempf, 2003, p.59, see Bell, 1998).

According to Philip Hammond, false and biased reporting is the logical outcome of the journalism of attachment as journalists become partial in siding with the “victims” of war (Hammond 2000, p.378). Hammond notes the lack of evidence or proof to support are the claims that systematic rape was used as a weapon of warfare, in so-called “rape camps” in Bosnia and later in Kosovo. Many journalists reported these claims uncritically despite the lack of sufficient evidence (ibid, p.379). Kempf accuses the journalism of attachment, of deliberately throwing away professional rules and standards of truth “in the name of a moral enterprise” (Kempf, 2002, p.59, 2007).

Meanwhile, several scholars draw attention to the “bias” of conventional war journalism which can also fuel violence. For example, Lynch and McGoldrick (2007, p.258) have identified three conventions of objective reporting that predispose traditional war journalism to violence and a particular pattern of reporting war and conflict. They are: 1. A

pre-disposition in favour of official sources 2. A focus on events over process 3. An emphasis on “dualism in reporting conflicts”

Firstly, it is much easier to obtain information from official sources than it is to get information from the variety of parties to conflict, because it saves money, time, resources, and importantly officials are seen as more “newsworthy”. This tendency makes leads to the exclusion of other voices and in particular the “voices of peace” and negotiation. Those advocating peace and human rights in face of an official stance that war is necessary are often neglected (Shaw, Lynch and Hackett, 2011, p.245).

Secondly, the “emergency” of an event that disturbs the normality comes first in the process of reporting. News often ignores the account of the circumstances or context of an event. Information on underlying causes of conflicts and violence are ignored and discarded. The explicit economic interest of the news media is to be first with the news (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2007, p.258). According to McGoldrick (2006), journalists are expected to ask six basic questions when producing a news story: *who, what, when, where, why* and *how*. Most stories do not deal with the “why”, or in a superficial form. This would make the stories too long in a culture with severe limitations on time and space.

The failure of conventional war reporting to ask the six basic questions in its conflict reporting, make peacemakers and human rights practitioners unaware of a group’s denial of human rights that is entrenched in its structures and the system of governance. Consequently, opportunities are not created for them to address the conditions of inequality, inequity, injustice and insecurity, and thereby to address the power imbalance of a society. Instead, it creates a room for violence in the society.

Thirdly, dualism is an important element of objectivity. Conflicts are seen as dual, that is, a zero-sum game of two parties, creating a tug-of-war situation in which each party has only two options: victory or defeat (Webel and Galtung, 2007, p.258). The paradigm of dualism “frames out multi-party initiatives, complex causes and win-win situations” (McGoldrick, 2006, p.4). The collective outcome of all three conventions of objective journalism produces a form of news that is predisposed towards war journalism. The four key features of this form of journalism are that it is violence-oriented, elite-oriented, victory-oriented and propaganda-oriented. This prevents journalists from performing their duty of exposing the human rights violations committed by all parties in a war.

3.2 Characteristics of Conventional War Reporting

Researchers have identified a particular pattern of coverage that emerges from the type of reporting discussed above. Galtung claims that war news is war/violence-oriented, elite-oriented, propaganda-oriented and victory-oriented. Stories with these orientations dominate the news agenda and as a result war is emphasised over the protection and promotion of Human Rights and peace (Galtung, 2002).

War journalism is *war/violence-oriented*. It waits for war violence to break out before reporting it. Also the occupational culture within which it functions drives it to escalate the violence, rather than looking for solutions to end the violence and suffering. Galtung and other media scholars identify a number of orientations of war journalism towards emphasising war and violence. Firstly, it concentrates on the visible physical effects of war and primarily its impact on the “other side”. For Lynch (2008), war journalism waits until the violence occurs to report its physical outcomes, such as the coverage of the killed, injured, destruction of buildings and other possible consequences of violence (Lynch, 2008, p.186–187).

According to Lynch and McGoldrick (2005, p.6), the conventional war reporting concentrates on the “conflict stadium”. It is like a football match: two sides, one goal. The story is framed by the “who will win” motive. The range of possible causes are not explored in preference to the desire to report the game of war, and its effects of those who participate and are caught up in it. For Nohrstedt, the framing of war journalism describes the actual conflict in a radically polarised way by creating a division of “good guys” and “bad guys” or “black” and “white” (Nohrstedt, 2009; Nohrstedt and Ottosen, 2001). As Howard makes it clear, terms like “terrorist”, “fanatic” and “extremist” are emotional and such “words take sides [and] make the other side seem impossible to negotiate with” (Howard, 2004, p.16). By labelling one party with these emotional words, media tends to reflect higher level of sensationalism in their news stories, and thus create fear among the general public. This framing of conflict makes conventional war reporting one-sided, and this applies to both intrastate and interstate wars. The influence of nationalist sentiments is so strong that it overwhelms the meaning of “truth” and feeling of “compassion”. As Falk elaborates, “This nationalisation of truth means that only *our* bloodshed is tragic, while *theirs* is generally applauded or at most ignored” (Falk, 2008, p.vi).

The result of the “zero-sum” journalism described above is that much of the reporting focuses on victory. Peace is proposed to be achieved by winning a war, so that there can be a ceasefire (Peace=Victory+ Ceasefire). Thus, peace endeavours are overlooked until victory is achieved (Galtung, 2002). Conventional War reporting is *victory-oriented*; it often functions like a sports game demonstrating a zero-sum orientation where the winner is the one and only gainer (Shinar, 2009, p.10). Reporting is often reduced to an assessment of who is winning and who is losing. Violations of human rights and suffering of the people are ignored. As victory is set as the option for the resolving the process, promotion and protection of peace and human rights are lost in the process. As a result, conventional war reporting with its objectivity conventions, rejects or obscures the reporting of human rights violations committed to the other side, and fails to address the causes of human rights violations, in order to create peace (Lynch, 1998).

Conventional War reporting – as Galtung and Ruge (1965) speculated about journalism in general – is *elite-oriented*. It focuses on elite people and elite nations. There is a news hierarchy as to what is newsworthy. Reporting, focuses only on the problems and concerns of the elite class. Greg McLaughlin highlights the randomness, arbitrary, and short attention span of the Western media when it comes to foreign conflict coverage. According to McLaughlin, “it is difficult to pinpoint a single factor that attracts media attention to one conflict and not another, but it seems that the direct involvement of major powers is significant” (McLaughlin, 2002, p.185–187). The focus is on the key decision makers: the political leaders of each side. Their side is led by the perpetrator of the conflict, who is often labelled the wrongdoer. The elite orientation is also manifest in the dependence of war journalism on official sources. These sources are seen as inherently more newsworthy, but their interpretation of events is prioritised. The ordinary citizen caught up in conflict usually appears as a statistic or an unknown. The victims of war have become more prevalent in recent times (Nohrsedt, 2009), but their voice takes second place to the views of their leaders.

The final orientation of conventional war reporting is towards *propaganda*. Propaganda is a systematic way of shaping the minds of people, their sentiments, feelings and behaviours to gain their support in favour of the aims promoted by propagandists (Zerrouki, 2012). For Carruthers, propaganda is a process of information-spreading through manipulation, distortion, emphasis and omission of the known facts to influence the general public to trust certain interpretations or people (Carruthers, 2000, p.81). Propaganda is a failing of

conventional war reporting as the authorities have increasingly prioritised the media as one of the important agencies as part of the war effort. Prior to the outset of fighting, and during the conduct of the war, the media are vital to the war aims of the warring parties. Journalists come under the influence of the propaganda strategies (Hoijer, Nohrstedt and Ottosen, 2002, p.4–11; Nohrstedt and Ottosen, 2014). These are manifest in a number of forms – from briefings through to embedding journalists, who are subject to manipulation.

3.3 The genesis and consequences of Conventional War Reporting

This section explains how and why conventional journalism has become part of the problem by fuelling war, and failing to protect human rights and peace, as outlined above. The reasons why conventional war reporting fuels war, while hindering peace and human rights programmes can be pointed out towards the nature of news values, the relationship between journalists and power, the influence of news sources and the use of language.

3.3.1 News Values

War journalists follow what Kempf refers to as three “turning points” in their reporting; these “play an active role in stimulating the process of conflict escalation beyond its actual level” (Kempf, 2003, p.70). As evident in the above discussion, the first of these turning points is *mis-coverage*, which is the tradition of only reporting on conflicts that have already turned violent. The second point is the habit of interpreting *conflicts as lose-win situations*. The final turning point is journalists’ *use of elites as sources*. The turning points, according to Kempf, make journalists especially vulnerable to official propaganda (Kempf, 2003, p.70).

Kempf’s three turning points affect what and how the media covers war and conflict; they are steeped in the traditional news values that are used in the profession. According to Galtung and Ruge’s (1965) in the hierarchy of news values theory, news is more likely to be negative, elite-focused, personal, and conflict-related. As per this hierarchy, conflict news is something negative – such as violence – happening in a known country. Peace stories can make the headlines but only if they are about the patient and are costly intervention of elite individuals and elite nations (Galtung, 2002).

Close cooperation with the military is also vital if journalists are able to gain access to the battlefield. Embedding has been a feature of war journalism since the World War One. Correspondents see the war from the military perspective and adopt military terminology

as a result of their close proximity to the fighting man or women. In today's 24-hour news culture, journalists and the media face increasing pressure from real-time coverage demands, decreasing media budgets, and increasing media competition and commercialisation. This hardly gives them the opportunity to scrutinise the causes of conflicts, and to expose underlying causes as well as (immediate) factors that could potentially escalate or trigger a violent conflict.

3.3.2 News, Journalists and Power

The biggest influence on media comes from society; journalists themselves are components of a particular society. The more fully their society is involved in a conflict, the more pressure there is on the reporter to be "on team". Journalists are citizens as well as members of a profession. At times of war there is a clash between professional duties and the responsibility of citizenship (see Williams, 1992). Appeals to reporters' "patriotic duty" make them more susceptible to propaganda and manipulation (Kempf and Reimann, 2002).

Journalists' collaboration with political and military elites is not due to a conspiracy between policy-makers and the media. It results from the fact that journalists are members of society themselves and vulnerable to the same processes of social identification, such as taking sides with one's own elites, soldiers and victims (Kempf, 2003, p.69). They feel the same patriotic instincts and commitments as other members of their society. Their perceptions of those on the opposing side can be as dehumanised as their fellow citizens. As members of society, journalists are inclined to humanise their own political and military leaders and feature their own side victims in greater detail and context" (Kempf, 2003, p.70). Also, the process of embedding has tied reporters to the ordinary soldier. Living together, side-by-side, depending on the unit in which you are embedded for your life and wellbeing forms a bond. This bond makes it more difficult for reporters to comment critically on their compatriots (Tumber & Prentouis, 2003)

3.3.3 News Sources and their Effects

The military is a powerful institution in any society, particularly when compared to peace organisations. Huge resources keep the war culture and military machine going (such as through propaganda and public relations, as well as through war movies, war games, and military museums). A propagandised environment of a conflict not only increases the power imbalance of a society, but also makes it difficult for peace and human rights

practitioners to implement programmes successfully. Because, they cannot compete with the propaganda efforts of the military, which are carefully designed to influence the cognitive component of human beings within ideological foundations.

Human Rights and Peace organisations' budgets do not enable them to be visible in the media and they are not used regularly as sources and "experts" (Luostarinen, 2003, p.275). Often, however, journalists just use sources with authoritative or military titles and "expert" labels to emphasise their statements and give their stories more weight.

The power of official sources to influence the news agenda has increased with the decline in foreign bureaus and specialist correspondents. As a result, in situations of internal conflicts, international media tend to rely on elite sources and government officers for their news reporting. Also, increasingly inexperienced and freelance journalists are pushed to cover news (McLaughlin, 2002, p.187). Since covering wars is still an expensive business, foreign news bureaus have often been shut down. Instead, teams of reporters and photographers are flown into a war zone at the start of a war, and flown out as soon as the violence is over. This is called parachute journalism. Thus, they often fail to identify latent conflicts and factors involved directly and indirectly such as the issues of justice, accountability, and reparation for grave crimes and gross violations against civilians.

Another trend is that media outlets increasingly rely on both news and pictures from news agencies. Nowadays, media organisations prefer to use "parachuting" correspondents, who fly off to different hot spots after the fighting has started so that they can minimise the expenses involved in covering the conflict. Such thinking by the media organisations has changed the trend, so that, in place of editorial concerns, accountants and budget restrictions now determine what foreign events correspondents cover on wars and conflicts. With less experience, these journalists are "less likely to ask key questions of their sources, less likely to analyse the situation well, and more likely to be dependent on experts" (Riegert and Johansson, 2005, p.6).

3.3.4 Military Terminology

The dependence on official news sources has seen the media using the language of their sources in the reporting of conflict. Military PR machines focus special attention on constructing the words and phrases they use to describe what they do. The use of euphemisms, such as "collateral damage" to describe civilian casualties, is one example.

They seek to sanitise the process of warfare. Through embedding, war language and terminology is imported into the media's reporting. As Luostarinen points out, "if you manage to get journalists to use your language – your concepts, your slogans, metaphors – you have managed to get the greatest breakthrough possible in public relations: journalists are then working for you voluntarily" (Luostarinen, 2002, p.276). In this way, journalists lose their moral responsibility to expose human rights violations and sufferings and fail to protect people from human rights violations of all forms. Instead, war is constructed as a 'good war' and as the only option for creating peace.

The 9/11 also contributed to the polarity in the media language, emphasising terms such as "us versus them", bringing back some of the Cold War rhetoric and enemy images. War has been described as "a peace initiative", military invasions are described as "regime changes", and occupations have been called "humanitarian interventions". Media buying the phrases such as 'war for peace' and 'Humanitarian war' significantly diminish the prospect of exposing the suffering of people and human rights violations.

These described failings of traditional war reporting have led to a different way of reporting wars and conflict. Many of these calls have been articulated in the context of Western liberal democracies and have focused on the concept of PJ and HRJ. Looking at the roots of the model in the work of Johan Galtung including its features, the next section briefly discusses how the theory and practice of PJ have evolved as an alternative counter-hegemonic model as well as how HRJ serves as a complementary strand of PJ.

3.4 Peace Journalism (PJ)

Norwegian Scholar Johan Galtung first proposed the PJ as a normative theory in the 1970s. That was when he suggested that conflict analysis and transformation could be used to update the concept of balance, fairness, and accuracy in reporting conflicts and war. According to Galtung, PJ is a journalistic movement with conflict transformation as one of its main areas of attention. Opposing the simplicity of "war journalism", PJ focuses not only on who wins a war, the number of casualties, or the material damage but also takes a proactive, peace/solution-oriented approach. PJ does this by finding peace or conflict resolution opportunities before they escalate into violence, thereby diagnosing the problem and finding a fitting response too (Galtung, 2002, p.260). This transforms the journalists' role from "watchdog" to "enabler" (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2000, p.46) and requires journalists to become experts on conflict analysis and peace resolution. According to

Galtung, “the first victim in war is not the truth but the second. To him the first victim is peace.” He claims that the third and fourth victims are “the people and the solution” (Galtung, 2003, p.260). In summary, PJ focuses on all four of these “victims”.

This concept was further developed and articulated by Lynch and McGoldrick. According Lynch and McGoldrick (2005, p.5), PJ “when editors and reporters make choices – of what stories to report, and how to report them – is what create opportunities for society at large to consider and to value non-violent responses to conflict.” Kempf (2003, p.2) further defines PJs views as “a method for covering war and conflict that has a normative approach to journalism practise”. As Falk (2008, p.VII) remarks, PJ demands that journalists explore the primary reasons of conflict, such as denial of fundamental rights, poverty, scarcity or prior abuse, and not just report the surface issues resulting from the physical violence of conflicts. Lynch and McGoldrick identify four basic components of PJ, which counter the specific failing of war journalism: solution-oriented, peace-oriented, truth-oriented and people-oriented.

PJ is critical of objectivity, at least if objectivity means that journalists “just report the facts”, and have no responsibility for the likely consequences of their reporting. In a way, PJ coincides with the journalism of attachment in its view of the concept of objectivity: it is impossible for a journalist to be neutral, uninvolved and unfeeling mirror in which reality is reflected (McGoldrick and Lynch, 2000, p.10).

For some journalists PJ is “too critical” and “too involved”. There is a dislike or disapproval of the critical self-awareness of journalistic structure and agency inscribed in the PJ approach. They argue that objectivity should not be compromised at any cost and that the only journalism that fulfils this requirement is good journalism (see Lynch, 2008, p.6). This is the basic foundation on which all journalism should be practiced. British journalist David Loyn is one such journalist and he has become a high profile critic of the concept of PJ. Loyn categorically rejects Lynch and McGoldrick’s emphasis on “critical self-awareness” and states that “the opposite of PJ is good journalism” (Loyn, 2007, p.1). According to Lyon, PJ’s demand for critical coverage and active involvement in a conflict is, detrimental to the concept of “objectivity” and antithetical to the practice of journalism. It is for this very reason that he simply rejects this demand of PJ, emphasising that it is a fundamental deviation from the function of the journalistic profession.

For Loyn, there should be no “peace journalism”. The norms of fairness, objectivity, and balance should govern the practice of war reporting. War news comprises what is happening and, where relevant, it can be reported with imagination and scepticism. He stresses that journalists should and can limit their role to being “witnesses”. They should not become participants (Loyn, 2007, p.4; Loyn, 2003). The rules proposed by Lynch and other proponents of PJ, as Loyn complains, would hinder the practice of good journalism by making reporting subjective or partial (Loyn, 2003).

Lynch rebukes Loyn for failing to look at what objective journalists produce. Rather than focusing on the practice of bearing witness and the objectivity of journalism, he argues that Loyn should concentrate on what is produced in accounts of conventional war reporting. He cites Galtung and Ruge’s explanation of what event becomes news coverage and why it turns out to be one (Galtung and Ruge, 1965). News is a systematic process in which gatekeeping decisions on specific news stories take place according to discernible patterns. They explain why certain events become “news”. He also shows the connection between conflict reporting and propaganda (Lynch, 2008, p.8). Lynch argues that Loyn does not adequately examine the influence of propaganda on reporting.

Loyn concerns that when journalists become involved in the conflict in order to contribute to the peacemaking process they become “players” in the conflict, not “observers”, and cannot be easily dismissed. Such a role, as Loyn notes, presents a danger of jeopardising the integrity of journalists and complicates their role as impartial disseminators (Loyn, 2003). According to Loyn, PJ is a “theoretical construct” who has no understanding of the practical problems of doing journalism. His view is that any such endeavour to attempt to alter journalism will be possibly used to create a “distorting effect on the news agenda” (Ibid).

Loyn does not say that journalists should not influence the events of a conflict, only that they should not get involved in conflicts (Loyn, 2007). For him, the role of the journalist should be only to witness the truth. His reporting can influence events but the reporter should not make the decision to do this consciously. Loyn accepts the fact that there are “imperfections” in conventional war reporting. Yet while acknowledging them that “absolute objectivity is impossible”. Loyn believes that “one must relentlessly pursue it”. He argues that objectivity is the “journalist’s goal” (quoted in Berry, 2008, p.135–136; Lynch, 2008 p.7). However, this appears to be an ideological assertion without acknowledgment of the problematic nature of the product provided.

3.4.1 PJ's epistemological vacuum

It is not just practitioners such as Loyn who are critical of PJ. Several media scholars have joined the debate, pointing out some problems with the concept. Thomas Hanitzsch is among the academics who support's Loyn's reservation. The fundamental of Hanitzsch's criticism is that the negligence of objectivity by PJ erases the philosophical foundation of journalism and thereby raises the question of PJ's epistemological vacuum. For the proponents of PJ, the practice of conventional war journalism produces news that distorts the representation of reality, creating a functional necessity to reflect reality in news reporting. This is what PJ attempts to do. For Hanitzsch this is erroneous. Referring to Schudson, who argues that news cannot be a "mirror" of reality, he says that news is a representation of the world; he notes that all representations are selective (Hanitzsch, 2007a; Hanitzsch, 2007b).

Responding to Hanitzsch's claim, proponents of PJ say that it does honour fairness and accuracy in its practice. There are appropriate standards to report the views of all the sides of the conflict. According to media scholar Samuel Peleg:

Peace journalism asserts that a more appropriate standard for good journalism should be fairness and accuracy. Within such orientation, taking sides on issues is permitted as long as the side taken presented accurately and other side is given a fair chance to respond. Hence, the improbable attempt at objectivity is replaced by balance and even handed account, which encourages fairness (Peleg, 2007, p.3).

This does not sound too different from Loyn's interpretation of objectivity. But, according to Lynch and McGoldrick, "the external goal of peace is added instrumentally to deliver more successfully on internal goals of fairness and accuracy" (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2010, p.92). In other words, the journalistic concepts of balance, fairness and accuracy are updated using conflict analysis and transformation in the PJ approach (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005, p.5).

For Hanitzsch (2003, p.33), PJ is not sufficiently critical to reflect the reality of events using conflict analysis and transformation as claimed by Lynch. PJ is wrong in its assumption of the power of journalists and media to influence political decisions. He also sees PJ as naively considering the audience as passive consumers to be enlightened by peace reporting. They are often active with views that need to be challenged or addressed. Hanitzsch sees PJ as "not critical enough" to pursue its aims, while Loyn finds it "over critical", so much so that it jeopardises the canons of objective journalism (Lynch, 2008,

p.15). The question then is how critical can or should PJ be and does criticism transform reporters from “observers” into “participants”?

Responding to the criticism on the critical capacity of PJ, Lynch draws attention to the value of “critical realism” as an epistemological approach in which he believes the practice of PJ is grounded (Lynch, 2007, p.5–6). Lynch argues that critical realism provides an accommodation between objectivity and engagement and a response to what Loyn and Hanitzsch have put forward. For Lynch, what actually distorts news production is the disregard of the analysis of background information of a conflict, such as its root causes, “a relationship, of parties setting and pursuing incompatible goals” (Lynch, 2008).

Besides the controversies of PJ, a weakness in the theory of PJ is its lack of focus on the nexus between human rights and peace. As Shaw points out, “there is a little scholarly work focusing, firstly, on the journalism–peace–human rights nexus and, secondly, on the critical discussion of the failure of mainstream journalism to foreground positive peace and positive rights issues” (2011, p. 98). As a result, as Shaw points out, a primary weakness of PJ is the lack of agency role in its approach to address the underlying forms of causes. Instead it endeavours to address misconduct of the elite by dealing with their attitudes and behaviours. It doesn’t enable PJ to perform a proactive (preventive) role; instead it demonstrates a dramatic, reactive (prescriptive) role, and thereby fails to balance the imbalances of communities (*ibid.*, p. 108).

PJ in its conflict analysis approach resonates with the just peace approach of objective reporting which is essential for performing watchdog journalism, which is also an important constituent for realising just peace expectations. Within this requirement, PJ continues to “strike a balance between reporting and informing (objectivity) on one hand, and caring for humanity (advocacy) on the other hand” (*ibid.*, p.112).

In this context, the concept of Human Rights Journalism (HRJ) anchored in Lisa Schirch’s (2002) ‘just peace’ framework, draws insights from Frank’s ethic and the logic of just peace (2007) and Kant’s philosophical framework of the peace and human rights nexus. Kant’s position endeavours to address the infringements of human rights as the causes of violent conflicts. As Shaw argues, this can be considered “as a new complementary strand of peace journalism that can contribute meaningfully to the promotion and protection of peace and human rights” (*ibid.*, p.98). Just Peace approach enables, HRJ to explore solutions in a triple win manner among the two parties of the conflict as well as the

“Community” (The Third Side). This “Third Side” essential to work for a global, triple-win is missing in PJ (Ibid, p. 107).

What follows in the next chapter is a more theoretical insight of HRJ within the principles of human rights and peace and its connection with R2P.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has described the problems of doing conventional war reporting and identified the factors which have oriented war journalism towards war and violence. To explain why conventional war journalism has gravitated towards war, a number of factors have been identified, including the nature of news values, the relationship of journalism to power, the dependence on news sources and the language used to describe war. This chapter also examined the theory of PJ. PJ has been outlined and its particular orientations have been described. It is solution-, truth-, people- and peace-oriented and addresses the identified failings of conventional war reporting. The problems with PJ, as outlined by the practitioners and academics, were also discussed. Particularly, PJ’s weakness in terms of its lack of agency role to address the underlying forms of causes was emphasised. Against this backdrop, the concept of HRJ was introduced and how it can be considered “as a new complementary strand of peace journalism” was highlighted.

Chapter 4: Human Rights and Violence Prevention: Exploring the links between R2P and HRJ

4.0 Introduction

Despite some scholars' dissatisfaction over the media's capacity for setting an agenda for policy makers to fix humanitarian crisis (i.e.; Herman and Chomsky, 1988), studies have highlighted the power and ability of the media to shape policy responses to humanitarian crises and violent conflicts to protect and promote human rights and peace (Robinson, 2013; Robinson, 2000; Hallin, 1994; Schudson, 1995; Livingston 1997; Livingston and Eachus, 1995; Wolfsfeld, 1997; Hoijer, 2003; Chouliaraki, 2013; Cottle, 2009 and 2011).

Cottle (2011) observes that the media can and indeed do perform a role in influencing public opinion against despotic leaders and drawing the world's attention to the potential of the R2P doctrine as a means of dealing with them. However, the scope of R2P requires the media to go beyond the notion of objectivity and play a proactive role by safeguarding and fostering human rights, which is indispensable for building peace. The discussion in the previous chapter underlined the failings of conventional journalism to value human rights, and strive for the common good. This is a challenge to the conscience of journalists, who as part of global civil society, ought not to be used as agents of violence and destruction. It underlines journalists' need of a stronger sense of moral agency in order to raise awareness of human rights violations, wherever they exist, and mobilise appropriate policy responses to end them and, prevent their escalation thus creating a cosmopolitan global society in which war crimes and atrocities could be eradicated.

This rationale highlights the relationship between R2P and media. The media by exploring human rights violations and the causes of conflict can act as a human rights watchdog and peace-activist and contribute immensely to the conflict prevention strategy inscribed in R2P. Against this backdrop, human rights-oriented reporting and the media taking on a watchdog function have high potential to facilitate the implementation of R2P as a 'rights based' approach by communicating the reality of a crisis situation and so establishing a *prima facie* case for R2P. Thus, it enables the international community/ responsibility holders/ UN to deal with the crisis with a global consensus and collective commitment

without pursuing petty political agendas. The ‘rights-based approach’ element that appears to be integral to both ‘HRJ’ and ‘R2P’ means the process of safeguarding and fostering rights and human security in accordance with a set of rights and obligations established by international law and Universal Declaration of Human Rights that overrides sovereignty, when rights are violated.

The preventive or proactive role of HRJ is conditioned by its five frames, which comprises of critical empathy, diagnostic, pro-activism, interventionism and peace journalism frames, that have the capacity to provide a multidimensional facilitation to evoke R2P by communicating the reality of conflict situations. The five frames of HRJ are interconnected and have the potential to mutually reinforce across the three pillars and three responsibilities of R2P.

It is against this backdrop that this study attempts to examine the role that the media can play in facilitating R2P by analysing the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka in 2009. However, the discussion in the previous chapter demonstrated the fact that the conventional journalism with its strident and largely uncritical targeting of ‘other’ often fails to fulfil this ethical and moral role to protect and promote human rights and peace. It was evident in the discussion that the ‘effect’ exercised by media in fuelling violence is an outcome of the ‘power’ of the media formed by the factors identified in the previous chapter. Therefore, the promotion of war is not necessarily a conscious action but more the result of the power enacted through and reproduced during the discourse of the working routines and practices of conventional war journalism, identified earlier.

As discourse analysis scholar Van Dijk explains, power not only influences the functional effect of the media on their audience, but also involves the role of the media within the context of its social, cultural, political, or economic power structures of society (Van Dijk, 1996, p.9). “Media power” as Van Dijk elaborates is “generally symbolic and persuasive”. This means its ability and potential to influence the minds of their audience, but not their actions (Ibid, p, 10). Meanwhile, media ‘effect’ can be in the forms of change of public opinion, agenda setting, and framing of an issue etc. This media ‘effect’ has the potentiality of exerting direct impact on policy level decision-making (Love, 2008, p.266).

The dysfunctional exercise of power in the practice of conventional war journalism observed in the previous chapter, on the other hand, is a manipulation of the media power

towards calculated media effects. To quote Van Dijk, “manipulation as a form of media power enactment is usually evaluated in negative terms, because mediated information is biased or concealed in such a way that the knowledge and beliefs of the audience are changed in a direction that is not necessarily in its best interest”(Van Dijk , 1996, p.11).

The focus of this study is to explore the practice of HRJ to facilitate the implementation of R2P. As evident in the discussion of second chapter, R2P is all about safeguarding and fostering human rights and peace, grounded in Galtung’s positive peace and Schirch’s ‘Strategic peacebuilding’, which embody Kant’s articulation of human rights and peace connection.

With this background in mind, this chapter now embarks on a discussion of exploring the epistemological foundation of the theory and practice of HRJ, analysing its relevance to R2P as a ‘rights based approach’ within the context of just peace theory and tracing its ‘power’ towards the protection and promotion of human rights within the context of Foucault’s ‘regime of truth.

This chapter is primarily divided into two parts: The first part deals with the discussion on how human rights and conflict transformation approaches can become mutually assisting and reinforcing each other rather than work in isolation, to be the foundation of just peace framework. This part also discusses how the just peace framework goes hand in hand with pluralist and solidarist School of thoughts, and thus providing a basis for the practice of R2P.

The second part deals with the discussion on media and human rights, in particular the theory and practice of HRJ. It then sets out to justify the epistemological grounding of HRJ within the just peace framework, which provides the same epistemological ground for R2P as well. Importantly, this part attempts to trace the power of HRJ as a ‘rights based approach’ to promote and protect human rights in times of crisis, drawing insights from Foucault’s notion of regimes of truth.

4.1 Human Rights and Conflict Resolution

The concept of conflict transformation is a response against protracted inter and intra state conflicts (Azar, 1990). This theory and its concepts are more suitable to asymmetric intra

state conflicts such as the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. Over here the transformation of power imbalances between the two conflicting communities is a key, which is due to a wide disparity in power such as majority- minority conflicts. It not only focuses on social, political and cultural factors of a conflict, but also addresses their behavioural and attitudinal manifestations as well as structural origins (Miall 2004, 4-5). Conflict transformation “is not about making a situation of injustice more bearable, but about transforming the very systems, structures and relationships which give rise to violence and injustice” (RTC’s website). The process of conflict transformation facilitates social change in conflict ridden societies and also addresses the issues of social justice in its approach (Mitchell 2002; Mitchell 2005; Lederach 2005).

On the other hand, Human Rights are a set of rules, guidelines values and standards agreed internationally to regulate the use of the power of the states with regard to their own citizens and non-citizens (Baehr 1999, p.1). This brings the governments under an obligation to protect their own citizens from all kinds of violations. Also governments are obliged not to misuse their power against the rights of the people. The rights that every citizen of a country possesses can be primarily divided into two: Civil and political rights, Social, economic and cultural rights. The civil and political rights are called first generation of rights, which requires the protection of people from the interference or abuse by the state and others (i.e.: right to life, freedom of expression, freedom of assembly etc.). It also demands society to be organised in a manner where its members can exercise their full potential without any restrictions (Cismas, 2004, p.452).

Social, economic and cultural rights are called second generation of rights focusing on the welfare of people, as individuals and communities. These rights imply much more as an active and positive role for the governments to provide: “rights to work, an adequate standard of living, education and the right to freely participate in the cultural life of the community” (Ibid).

The analysis of the relationship between Human Rights and conflict resolution show how the change of transformation between these two has taken place over the years from tension to cooperative. The tension relationship existed because of the nature and methods used to address the underlying issues. For example, contradictory or even mutually exclusive approaches were used differently for the problems of human rights and peace. However, later it was realised that safeguarding and fostering human rights and peace requires an approach that incorporates the perspectives of both human rights advocates and

conflict resolution practitioners (Lutz, Babbitt & Hannum, 2013, p. 173). Subsequently, Human Rights have become core of peace-making and peacebuilding strategies changing the discourse from peace versus justice to peace with justice. Sustainable peacebuilding strategies are anchored in addressing both first and second generations of human rights based on the conception that peace/reconciliation without justice is impossible.

In other words, both human rights and conflict resolution practitioners share same goals. Their short term objective is to stop the human rights violations and minimise the loss of life and sufferings. However, their long term objective is to address the causes of human rights violations to prevent its replication and create an environment where rights of every human are respected (Lutz, Babbitt & Hannum, 2013, p. 173).

Within this context, the term “conflict transformation” becomes more relevant than the word “conflict resolution” to discuss the interception of peace and conflict with human rights in this study. Peace scholar Lederach (2005) defines, conflict transformation as:

“an envision(ing) and respond (ing) to the ebb and flow of social conflict as life giving opportunities for creating constructive changes processes that reduce violence, increase justice in direct interaction and social structures, and respond to real life problems in human relationships” (p.14).

This definition shows the scope of conflict transformation to play the role of not only to resolve the issues, but also to create a sustainable peace by addressing underlying causes.

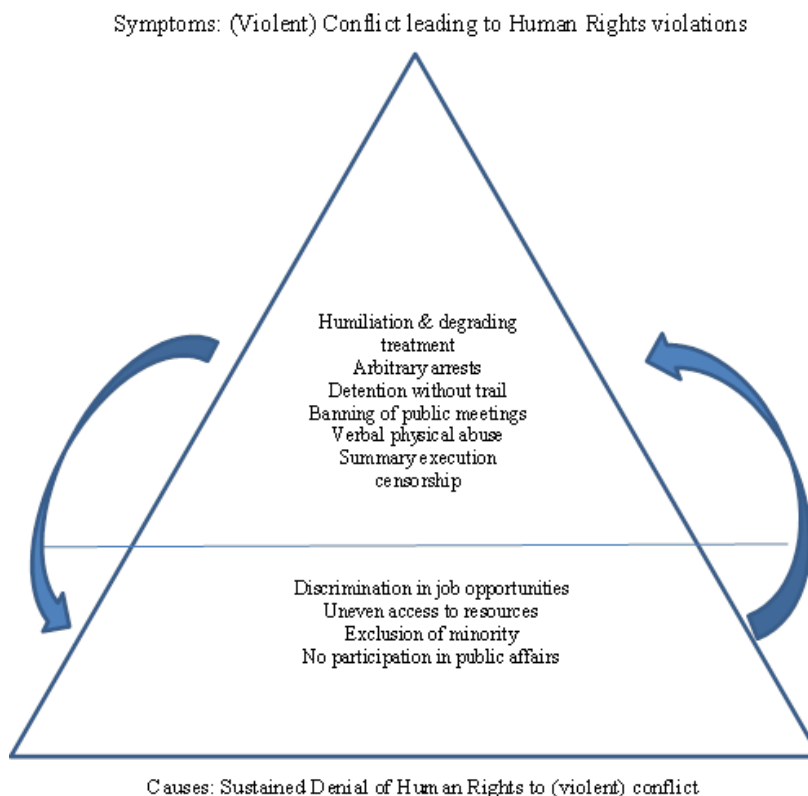
4.1.1 Human Rights Violations as Causes and Consequences of Violent Conflict

Parlevliet’s metaphor of an iceberg informed by Galtung’s Conflict triangle theory is very useful to illustrate how violations of human rights function as both causes and ramifications of violent conflict (Diagram 4.1). The top corner of the triangle (iceberg), seen above the waterline, denotes human rights violations as symptoms of violent conflict. As it can be seen from the top corner of the diagram, these violations are visible, and may include attacks and intimidations by state and non-state actors, rape, forcible evictions, abductions, land grabbing, summary executions, disappearances, torture and censorship etc. (Parlevliet 2002 and 2010).

Violations of civil and political rights are not merely the reasons for the occurrences of violent conflicts. Access for education, health, destruction of the infrastructure of health and education can also equally fuel violent conflicts. The area just below the waterline of

the bottom of the iceberg represents violations of human rights as causes of conflict. In other words, it is an area of latent conflict (s) caused by denial of human rights in a systematic manner in the structures of societies. This is often determined by the structure of states, the power devolution models and the system of governance etc. (ibid). For example, a number of discriminative measures adopted through the legislative body against the Tamil people in Sri Lanka created an environment of latent conflict in the 1950s and 1960s, which turned into a violent conflict between the two native communities.

Diagram 4. 1 Parlevliet's (2010, p.19) metaphor of an iceberg



The two arrows shown in the above diagram indicate the interaction of the two different levels of the violent conflict/rights relationship in a constant manner. Denial of human rights as a cause of conflict is proportional to human rights violations. Meantime, as Parlevliet points out, a particular trend of violations such as systematic torture, land grabbing, forcible evictions, abductions, indiscriminate killings, if unaddressed eventually becomes a “structural condition in itself” inflaming the conflict (ibid)).

Hence, the iceberg diagram better illustrates the human rights violations within the context of their causes and symptoms. It draws insights from the studies of the ‘identity based conflicts’ (Azar, 1990; Azar and Burton, 1986; Galtung 1990; Galtung and Wirak, 1977).

These theories explain the effect of identity in ethnic conflicts and explain how the violation of human rights impact on the various levels of human needs including protecting and maintaining identity, security, freedom and welfare etc in creating room for violent (Osaghae 1996, Parlevliet, 2002) . These studies have clearly established a link between the human rights violations and violent responses of internal conflicts in terms of the first and second generations of human rights, and explained how they function as the causes of these violent outcomes. Among the identified several causes, state repression has been identified as one of the primary factors in transforming latent conflicts into manifest one (Thoms and Ron, 2007).

This discussion emphasises the importance of looking into the aspects of human rights violations such as injustice, discrimination, inequality and exploitation as the sources of violent conflicts. It also emphasises the necessity of taking into account the state, its structures and the system of governance in understanding the ethnic conflicts and the reason why it is important to take into account all forms of violence in the conflict transformation efforts.

The iceberg diagram enlightens to design interventions to mitigate violations and conflicts based on the levels and the nature of human rights violations. For example, when human rights violations are seen as symptoms such as violence, intimidation etc. then the focus should be to protect people from the physical violence and prevent them from further violence by means of truce and humanitarian interventions. On the other hand, when a latent conflict is identified, efforts should be made to address the underlying structural causes by means of institution-building, power sharing, reconstruction and development etc. (Parlevliet, 2010).

The discussion we have had so far, goes hand in hand with Professor of peacebuilding at Eastern Mennonite University in the USA, Lisa Schirch's just peace framework, which resonates with Kant's philosophical articulation of human rights and peace connection; Kant believed in the overlap between peace and human rights. This underlines the importance of cosmopolitanism justice-based values of equality and interdependence.

Thus, the goal of 'just peacebuilding', as Schirch (2002) emphasises, is to address the human needs and human rights of all groups (both of the victims and perpetrators) at different levels through a variety of short-term, intermediate and long-term approaches.

As Lisa Schirch (2013, p.227) indicates in her handbook, Strategic peacebuilding means implementing an approach locally with open and transparent decision making of all stakeholders involving all levels from local to international strands in a system approach. A systems approach seeks to explain violence as a result of people of various levels and factors influenced by local, socio, economic, political, cultural, and historical conditions. Therefore, peacebuilding strategies should be sensitive, and take into account this complex system of factors and processes. These strategies should aim to reduce differences and divisions, balance the imbalance of power relations, and promote peaceful and just relationship between groups.

However, for modern advocates of cosmopolitanism such as Pogge (2002), the current world order and social order are different than the one perceived by Hobbs, Locke, Kant and many others: 1. States depend more on binding international collaboration to protect their own population, and thus create a situation where cosmopolitan law turns out to be highly relevant. 2. International consensus and upholding of cosmopolitan law become feasible as States are bounded together by the international law and united under the UN and other international institutions. The undeniable social change that is taking place, its effects on the existence of human life, global cosmopolitan institutional setup etc. are the arguments that stand against the international account of world politics (Held, 2010, Beck, 2005). For Ulrich Beck, the emergence of a new form of society resulting from the transformation of human society for better future creates a new form of society known as “The Society of Risk” where fears and risk are haphazardly shared by all levels of the global society (Beck, 2006).

Nevertheless, as discussed in chapter two in detail, this is not to say that contemporary cosmopolitans reject the state system. But, that they argue in favour of making state sovereignty conditions on the protection of human rights of their citizens and the promotion of peace and human rights abroad, especially through active support of international institutions dedicated to this purpose (Buzan, 2004). It is in this context that the concept of R2P is carefully positioned between pluralist and Solidarist School of thoughts, as detailed in Chapter two.

4.1.2 Cosmopolitanism, Human Rights and R2P

While attempting to condition the state sovereignty, solidarist school of thought strengthens the state institutions through international support and interferences in crisis

situations, as a means of protecting human rights and peace. In this manner, it can be argued that the concept of R2P goes parallel to Kant's articulation of human rights and peace connection.

As Kant argues in his 'Perpetual Peace and the Metaphysics of Morals', realisation of true peace is possible, only if states are organised consistently internally with the 'republican' principle and brought under a voluntary governance structure and respect the human rights as a whole including their nationals and foreign-nationals (Kincheloe, 2006). Kant explains three important intrinsically connected requirements such as rights, legitimacy and institutions important for the realisation of true peace. Firstly, for Kant, rights are not just considered as strategies or instruments of achieving desired goals such as human wellbeing and freedom, rather the well-being and freedom that are recognized by the duties and rights that make individuals to be protected by rule of law instead of the subjective power. Secondly, authorities that find the rights through law receive legitimacy from being capable of justification to individuals. Because Kant believes that by state of nature all individuals are free, equal, and independent. Thirdly, wherever the institutions exist they tend to be part of one global structure, and thereby domestic laws cannot disregard the reasonable requirements of international and cosmopolitan society in which states are united, and vice versa, meaning that local, international and cosmopolitan laws are entangled with each other (Follesdal and Maliks, 2014, p.1-3).

Drawing insights from Kant's 18th century philosophy of cosmopolitanism, contemporary philosophers have come up with theories consistent with the challenges faced by the contemporary world. James Griffen sees human rights as a means of protecting the individual wellbeing (Griffin, 1971, 2008), John Rawls constructs his theory of international society in which people enjoy full just and peaceful relations (Rawls, 1999), Jurgen Habermas builds his conception of global civil society (Habermas, 1999; 2001), Thomas Pogges establishes his notion of Human Rights as moral claims on the global institutional order (2002).

Notably, in a series of articles written in the post-1989 period, Habermas had well reconstructed Kant's theory of cosmopolitan corresponding to the contemporary world reality. A notable difference between Kant and Habermas is their regard towards 'State sovereignty' in their conception of human rights protection in cosmopolitan society. Kant's defence of State sovereignty in the context of the 18th century world order looks

irrelevance. Habermas disagrees with Kant for his flexibility with the states that is aimed at the bonds of State sovereignty as unchallengeable; instead he advocates to override national sovereignty for the sake of cosmopolitan justice (Habermas, 1999; 2001). In light of Habermas's theory of cosmopolitanism, the solidarist theory of humanitarian intervention is legitimate to override the validity of State sovereignty, when the violation of human rights within a state is so appalling.

Moreover, Kant conceives the cosmopolitan community as an association of states without amalgamating political and economic institutions, and thus he doesn't view them as a group of "non-world citizens". He stands neutral between liberals and realists, Universalists and pluralists. Whereas, Habermas looks at the liberal solidarism only as a step in the process of a true cosmopolitan legal order, and favours a stronger version of liberal cosmopolitanism. In consistent with the Solidarist thoughts on humanitarian intervention, Habermas views the existence of the UN as proof of the possibility of transcending the states system, and contends that the UN is only consistent with the universal human rights if it is considered as a transitional arrangement towards a world federation guaranteeing the rights of individuals rather than states under cosmopolitan law (Ibid).

In chapter two we discussed about the normative and operational aspects of R2P and how they are interwoven and stemmed from conceptual, political, institutional and practical challenges. We also discussed how the three responsibilities of R2P are entangled by peace and human rights nexus. In this chapter, we have so far observed the key aspects of human rights and conflict transformation strategies and their inevitable interconnectedness towards 'just peace-building'. This "just peacebuilding", as we have seen, is grounded in Kant's cosmopolitan vision of emancipation of political communities and individuals, and practised and guided through moral and knowledge approach, sustained over time, and strives towards a comprehensive just peace. This is all about the idea of R2P, and thus providing the epistemological and methodological orientation.

Although the above discussion was centred on the combined approach of human rights and conflict transformation principles on the basis of just peace framework for protecting human rights and resolving all kinds and levels of conflicts, the concept of R2P as already enlightened is about what the international community should do when human rights are violated to an extreme level such as mass killings crimes and genocides. This necessarily requires an integrated approach, comprised of human rights and conflict transformation

strategies to prevent human rights violations and create sustainable peace in situations where the state sovereign ignores its moral commitment to protect its own citizens and reject external interventions. In this premise, as detailed in chapter two, R2P transforms its attention away from the intervener to the victims of violence which draws attention of the international community to protect the victims and protect their rights (Weiss, 2004), according to Kant's three salient features of cosmopolitan such as rights, legitimacy and institutions (Follesdal and Malik, 2014, p.1-3). R2P not only gives due respect to the states in fulfilling their responsibility of protecting their citizens, but also provides all sorts of assistance and opportunities to the states in this regard. It makes the provision for international intervention in a situation where a state completely fails in its obligation to prevent the rights of its citizens despite the assistance and opportunities offered by the international community. Military interposition is one of the considerations within the international intervention as a last resort. However, a range of measures are taken in a nonviolent manner through the three responsibilities in order to avoid military interference (Weiss, 2004).

As discussed already, albeit the ICISS report on R2P inclined to minimise the militaristic intervention aspect, it recommended a 'just cause threshold' for humanitarian military intervention as an exceptional and extraordinary way in line with Habermas's idea of cosmopolitan society, which was much broader in scope (ICISS, 2001, p.xii). It also recommended the implementation of R2P subject to the approval of the Security Council in compliance with its responsibility obligation for the maintenance of peace and security under United Nations Charter as well as human right law and humanitarian law, and valued sovereignty of a state as responsibility (Ibid). On the other hand, as observed in chapter 2, both pluralist and solidarist traditions also insist any HI to be approved by an authorisation of a collective body.

As observed already, 'A More Secure World Report', published in 2004 endorsed the 'collective international responsibility to protect', authorizing military intervention as a last resort subject to the approval of the Security Council (A More Secure World Report, 2004, p. 66). The 'protection clause' (paragraphs 138 and 139) included in the "World Summit Outcome" document grounded in the principles of customary and treaty international human rights law and international human rights law (Gierych, 2010, p.119).

Meanwhile, the “Implementing the Responsibility to Protect” document published in 2009 placed the methods, validity and scope of the ‘protection clause’ adopted in the “World Summit Outcome of 2005” within the epistemology grounded in the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations, and called on the member states to institutionalise the doctrine (Implementing the Responsibility to Protect, 2009, p.5). In addition, the document iterated that the states are obliged to prevent and punish genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity under conventional and customary international law (*ibid.*).

Hence, the implementation of R2P can be viewed as a legal obligation and the international community can only act upon a moral responsibility (Bolton, 2005). This clearly demonstrates the dilemma in setting R2P within conflicting arguments of cosmopolitan society among the contemporary cosmopolitans. But it is clear from the discussion that the concept of R2P as a ‘rights based’ approach within the ‘just peace’ framework can be pushed towards Habermas's cosmopolitan project where necessary, by establishing a *prima facie* case. Especially, Habermas's vision of the cosmopolitan project is an important aspect to be considered in the case of invoking the third pillar of R2P, which insists on the international community's responsibility to take 'timely and decisive action' if nonviolence measures fail to convince a state to ensure its responsibility to protect people from mass atrocity crimes (Bellamy, 2010).

Nevertheless, as observed already, the crux of this doctrine is not only to prevent mass atrocity crimes within the context of human rights, but also to create lasting peace within both human rights and peace principles. Even when it comes to the issue of the ‘authority’ to invoke R2P, as elucidated already in chapter two, Political Scientist James Pattison argues that legitimacy as a ‘morally justifiable power’ can determine an “intervener possessing full legitimacy and intervener possessing an adequate degree of legitimacy” (Pattison, (2010, p.32). This is a creative way of identifying an intervener within the realisation of the nexus between human rights and conflict transformation principles more in line with solidarist school of thought.

On the other hand, Anderson’s referral to ‘intervener possessing legitimacy’ is founded in Kant’s elucidation of ‘legitimacy’ concept of cosmopolitanism informed by other two concepts observed earlier such as ‘rights’ and ‘institutions’. In this premise, R2P doctrine can be claimed to be grounded in ‘multidimensional’ approach explained earlier in this

section with regard to human rights and conflict transformation, and therefore it necessarily focuses more on Kant's understanding of the cosmopolitan project in most of its process. The three responsibilities and three pillars of R2P have been built in such an integrated manner drawing insights from human rights and conflict transformation within just peace framework informed by Habermas's views drawing insights from Kant.

4.1.3 Just-peace and R2P

As observed above, a primary challenge in exercising the concept of R2P is to address the human rights violations while addressing the symptoms and their causes in accordance with its pillar and three responsibility methods. The right based holistic approach of R2P within Human Rights and conflict transformation principles significantly differ from the conventional rights approaches which concentrate on the symptoms rather than the causes. For example, responding to complaints of human rights abuses, monitoring and evaluating the violations individually etc. (ICHRP, 2002, p.71-72).

This is where one may ask a question as to how to tackle the symptoms in a manner that contributes to the sustainable peace in the long term?

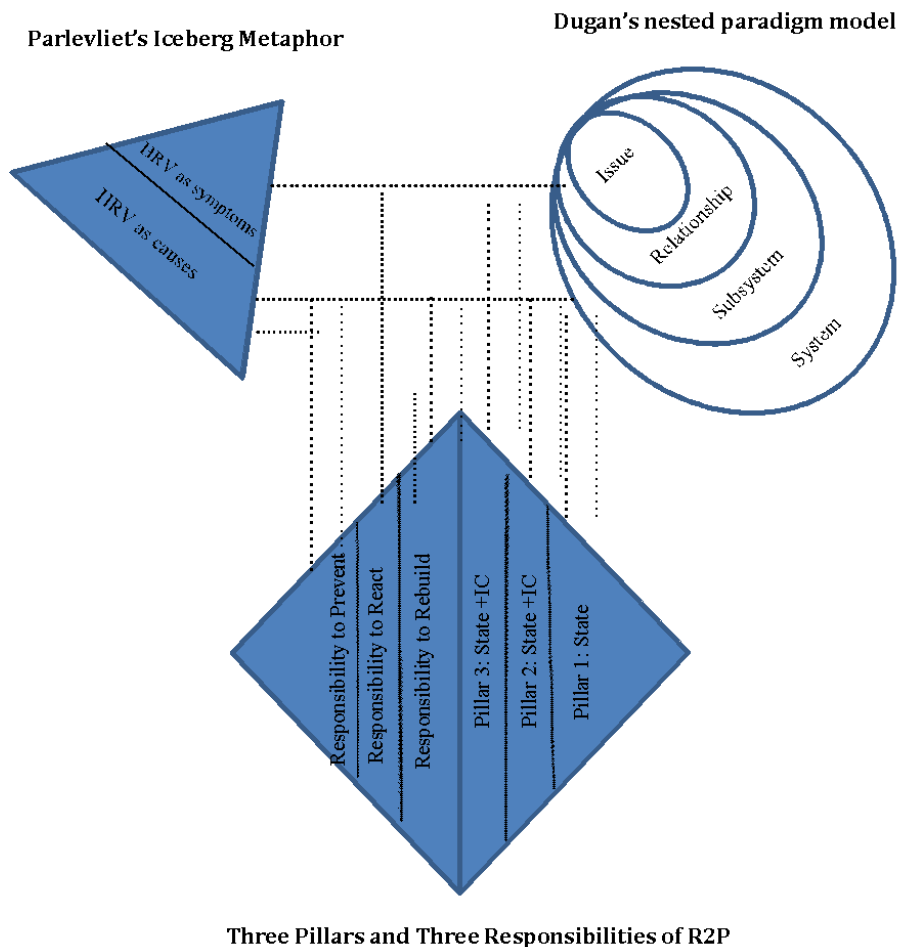
Lederach's study on levels of response in dealing with conflicts informed by Marie Dugan's "Nested Paradigm Model" (Dugan, 1996 and Lederach, 1997), helps understand this question. "The Nested Paradigm" model assists us to analyse conflicts using one diagram in which relationships causes as well as symptoms are examined in an innovative manner using four varying, but interrelated levels of a conflict analysis model to study conflict situations: issue, relationships, sub-system, and system.

Lederach adopts from this model the issues that exist in a particular relationship which can also exist within the larger context of subsystems, and ultimately in the society-wide systems. As Dyck argues, this model better informs the way of achieving the five goals of restorative justice practice: 1. Manage the crisis (immediate responding at issue level) 2. Attend to the root causes (short term, responding at system level) 3. Prevent future crisis (long term, responding at issue level) 4. Transform individuals, relationships, and society (decade and long term, responding at relationship and sub-system levels) 5. Envision a just and peaceful future (long term, responding at system level) (cited in Toews, 2013, p 197).

Although it is important to consider interventions at both the issue and the system level, as Lederach emphasises, conflict mitigation measures need to be taken into account at the relationship and sub-system levels, as they have the potential to transform the conflict

towards sustainable resolution and positive peace (1997). Linking both nested paradigm and iceberg with the three responsibilities and three pillars of R2P provides a picture, which helps us to understand the levels of conflict and how best to address them with R2P within human rights and conflict transformation principles (Dugan 1996, p. 9-20; Lederach 1997).

Diagram 2 Trio Diagram' of Parlevliet's Iceberg metaphor, Dugan's nested paradigm model and R2P'



(Source: Author's work; Dugan 1996, 9-20; Lederach 1997)

Above diagram shows an innovative way of analysing and handling a conflict at four different, but interconnected levels within human rights and conflict transformation principles to achieve the five goals of restorative justice. It also shows that an integrated approach requires various interventions at different levels, particularly at issue and system levels to protect people from human rights violations including war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide and from creating sustainable peace. Importantly, this diagram shows how the nexuses between Parlevliet's Iceberg Metaphor and Dugan's nested

paradigm model provide a fertile ground for the application of R2P, and thus form the epistemological ground. This further strengthens the argument in chapter two, in which R2P was described as a ‘rights based multidimensional approach’.

Parlevliet (2010) is of the view that human rights should be handled in a multidimensional way, and she identifies four important dimensions in dealing with conflicts: rules; structures and institutions; relationships; and processes. Rights as rules get legal recognition nationally and internationally, and empower its inalienable nature to human beings. Rights as structures and institutions, signify the division of a society based on structures and resources as well as the mechanisms that function in the society to address the conflicts that arise as a result of these divisions. Rights as relationships refer to the relevance of rights to regulate and govern the ‘top to bottom’ and ‘bottom to top’ level interaction between the masses and state as well as amidst the masses. Rights as processes underline the importance to take into account the dignity, participation, inclusion, protection and accountability to gain legitimacy and sustainability in addressing the problems of access, protection and identity (Ibid, 2010, p. 23).

These four different human rights dimensions of Parlevliet tend to ease the application of the three responsibilities of R2P, which in turn complement the ‘three pillar’ methodology. Taking into account the conceptual relationship between Parlevliet’s Iceberg Metaphor and Dugan’s ‘Nested Paradigm Model’, abuses taken place within the relationship and sub-system contexts can be addressed through R2P’s three responsibility approach considering human rights violations as symptoms (at the issue-specific level) and causes of conflict (at the system level) in a holistic manner.

It was against this background that it was highlighted in chapter one about the power and ability of the media to shape policy responses to humanitarian crises and violent conflicts to protect and promote human rights and peace (Robinson, 2013; Robinson, 2000; Toddeachus, 1995; Hallin, 1994; Schudson, 1995; Livingston and Eachus, 1995; Wolfsfeld, 1997; Hoijer, 2003; Chouliaraki, 2013; Cottle, 2009 and 2011). The discussion we have had so far in this section also underlines the importance of the media to facilitate the implementation of R2P as a ‘rights based multidimensional approach’ within a ‘just peace’ framework as explained above, which involved various human rights and conflict transformation strategies connecting at different levels with different stakeholders.

The implementation of R2P, with regard to the discussion on international relations detailed in chapter two, has brought up a tension between the requirements of geopolitics and the upholding of international human rights norm. This situation necessarily requires an analysis of the role of the media to depoliticise the application of R2P by creating a regime of truth and global compassion through raising awareness of human rights violations. In this context, an analysis is required as to how media can function as a facilitator to implement R2P in crisis situations appropriately by taking into account of Parlevliet's Iceberg Metaphor and Dugan's nested paradigm model. In other words, this will be an analysis of the crucial role that the media can play in safeguarding and fostering human rights and peace, as opposed to the 'power' exercised by conventional war journalism towards war and violence, as highlighted in the beginning of this chapter.

Under this background, this chapter attempts to discuss the relationship between media, human rights and peace. However the primary focus is on HRJ, which is the theme of this thesis, and its potentiality to facilitate R2P to transform crisis situations towards sustainable peace. This section also attempts to trace the origin of 'power' of the media to shape policy responses to humanitarian crises in order to protect and promote human rights and peace.

4.2 Human Rights and Media

Both in public policy and public opinion, the human rights issues have become more important today. Inevitably, this trend makes the media to look into human rights issues in its news reporting. Media not only has the duty to preserve human rights, but also endeavours to find out the causes of violations and conceive ways and means to prevent abuses. The media through its watchdog role could safeguard the people against the human rights violations by exposing the infringements wherever they occur and at the same time create awareness of human rights issues by educating public on human rights. This is the responsibility of the media, to analyse incidents and issues of human rights, and disseminate information including both violation and their causes to create discourse of human rights education. In this way media helps find solutions for addressing the human rights violations, and also sets up an acceptable standard of human rights practices within which the society has to operate (International Council on Human Rights Policy, 2002).

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, media's power of influencing the activities and issues of people in their life, provides a responsible role to the media to perform its

role in a constructive manner rather than creating room for misery and suffering. Media's engagement in "Committed Journalism" based on democracy, free choice, openness, morality, and serving the common, is the place where responsibility and accountability are given from (Lusgarten and Debrix, 2005, p. 365). It is on this basis that media's responsibility to promote and protect human rights is emphasised. Not only the "Committed Journalism", but the "watchdog role" and "investigative role" of journalism, also imply the responsibility role of the media to uncover wrongdoings including human rights abuses, corruption and repressions (De Burgh, 2000). Mass media have the power and ability to expose the infringements of human rights and in the event of failure of the media to do so; it may unfairly, inaccurately and inconsistently create public perceptions (Heinze and Freedman, 2010).

However, this expected responsible role of the media, has not always been satisfactory and well performed. As observed in chapter three, media does not report human rights issues aplenty. Particularly, in conflict situations, they report the human rights abuses in a subjective manner. Their coverage largely focus on political and civil rights, and tend to ignore the issues that are connected with economic, social and cultural rights.

Media has the capacity and power to make people aware of these rights and make them attentive continually as well as expose the human rights violations to the attention of the international community. Even though many Human Rights violations take place in conflict situations, the media does not give adequate priority to addressing them, but merely reports them.

As manifested in chapter three, there is very little contribution on the part of the media in relation to this role. The discussion revealed the failure of the conventional war journalism to cover events in an organized manner. It also revealed the incapability and constraints on the part of the media that ought to play an ideal role to promote and protect human rights and peace, where its role itself is a biased, violence-oriented, propaganda-oriented, elite-oriented and victory-oriented. Journalists do not give their audiences adequate background, information and continuity of coverage to make sense of the events that are reported. They make it obvious by their ignorance towards moral responsibility as duty bearers- to educate the public and by failing to increase awareness amidst their members of their rights whilst monitoring, investigating and reporting all human rights violation. This call for media's role to promote and protect human rights arose largely in the 1990s and 2000s has been

grounded on two traditional conceptualisations: 1) free speech; and 2) exposing human rights abuses.

Gradually this call matured to a point, where we can see through discussions and debates that there is a great potential by using the concept of Human Rights Based Journalism approach to promote and protect human rights and peace in times of crisis. Moreover, to empower marginalised and disadvantaged people within the ‘just peace’ framework, as elaborated earlier.

The understanding that bonds this expectation is that the cosmopolitan context of global justice, which regards a society as a global community where everybody is equally important and worthy to be protected, and human rights violations is a concern to all of the people in this global community, regardless of where and who they are (Anderson-Gold 2001, p22). It is under this moral obligation that media is duty bound to consider human rights without any discrimination and distribute justice for human rights violations irrespective of borders, races, ages, genders and classes (Shaw, 2012).

This conceptualisation, according to media scholar Ibrahim Seaga Shaw underlines the role of journalists to disseminate the information of human sufferings with the view to serve as “both as a means and as an end to the promotion and protection of human rights and peace. Communicative actions of journalists “can contribute to the creation of peace, which can also be indispensable for human rights promotion and protection” (Shaw, 2012, p. 12-13).

Nevertheless, communicating of human rights issues depend on political and social factors that dominate news media and the guiding principles of journalism. Most of the time we can see that the priority is given to the type of news that easily draws the attention of people, rather than the crucial human rights issues that require serious reporting and has every need to be communicated about. Because of these reasons, the news related to human rights fail to get published in the front page of a newspapers and also as the headlines in the media news.

What is considered as important in the news production today is the ‘News Value’, and how quickly it gets connected to the reader. As Balabanova described “Pressures to attract reader/ viewer interest and to respond to the most topical and controversial issues are powerful considerations. Today’s media has a clear preference for stories that are relatively

simple, graphically compelling and easily photographable” (2015, p. 32). This is why Galtung and Rug in their ground- breaking study “The Structure of Foreign News (1965), say that news reporting is not a natural phenomenon, but a culturally decided factor. According to them, by reason of the cultural differences between the humans, even though a difference exists in the ‘News Selection’ based on the ‘News Value’, there cannot be much of a difference among them as the “News Selection’ is related to a ‘Human Culture’. Galtung and Ruge (ibid) defined twelve news value factors which makes an issue or an event newsworthy: frequency, threshold, unambiguity, meaningfulness, consonance, unexpectedness, continuity, composition, reference to the elite nations, reference to the elite people, personalisation and negativity. Their news values have been further updated and revised by scholars (McGregor, 2002; Harcup and O’ Neill, 2001): Cultural Proximity; Relevance; Rarity; Continuity; Elite References; Negativity; Composition; Personalisation.

It is on the basis of these factors that the media shows no concern to some human rights violations and gives much importance to some human rights violation occur in the world. For example, the human rights violations that occurred in Sudan and Congo did not gain any preference in the media, however later to a certain extent the tortures that occurred at the Guantanamo detention camps attracted the media. Similarly, the western media which posted many news reports with regard to the, Beijing Olympics when the human rights violations were perpetrated in China , failed to focus much on the continuing human rights violations in China in the post-Beijing Olympic Games period (Balabanova, 2005, p.33). Likewise, a regional based difference does exists among the international news media reporting on the human tribulations of Africa, Europe and Asia. For example, as studied by Hawkins, the international media that showed much interest on the NATO intervention in Kosovo, did not pay much attention on the violence that occurred in countries such as Ethiopia, Eretria, and Sierra Leone, which he calls ‘an almost insignificant amount of coverage’. And at several instances human rights violations and local confrontations had taken places without any media involvement or attention (2001, p.5, 2004).

People need to know that Human rights reporting is not just about publishing news. Instead, is about a reporter who must have the will to go beyond the notion of objectivity to understand the patterns of human rights violations and their underlying context. This is why Galtung and Ruge (1965) insisted that journalists should not merely report the

incidents in their raw form, but analyze the background and the long term issues related to the incidents.

Scholars also have identified the challenges in human rights reporting. Although, the communication technology has attained a massive growth, lack of access to conflict zones is found to be a major blockade, today. Similarly, worst oppressions applied on the journalists in countries like North Korea, China, Sri Lanka and Congo had very badly affected the human rights reporting. As said by Balabanova (2015,p.33-34) , although, the journalists are given access to go to areas where human rights violations are occurring, in a country where peak level political oppression is prevailing, reporting the human rights issues would be a difficult task. Difficulties are experienced whilst obtaining reliable news through constituting hindrances to foreign journalists and thereby meting out repression. Human rights reporting is also affected by the media institutions who are reducing the number of offices and journalists overseas in recent times with a view to cut down the expenditure.

This has created a new culture where the journalists visit these areas only when large scale of human rights violations occur and return only after covering up that news. Several media institutions today tend to depend on written statements, media releases, and news agencies for their news coverage (Lewis, et al, 2008), and thus it affects media's ability to expose the human rights violations and raise awareness to the public.

Although it is insisted that the media has an obligation to investigate the abuses of the governments and authorities and to act as a 'watch dogs' by revealing them and to create a dialogue amidst the people on political, social, and economic matters, practically, the political elite handle activities of the media to create opinions favourable to them and because of this the media engages in propaganda campaigns fulfilling the interests of the elite (Herman and Chomsky, 2008). Herman and Chomsky's Propaganda Model posits that there are five filters that change, focus or distort the news to meet the needs of the elite, or more importantly the financially and politically powerful: ownership, advertising, sources, flak, and ideology (ibid). These influences are obscured by the professional ideology of political neutrality, however any claim to neutrality is considered false: there is no stand on neutral ground. Choices about which stories to cover, the angle and source used undermine the claim to neutrality. The war correspondent is never neutral and always struggles to be independent from the authorities and powerful political forces.

Anderson (2007a, p. 67) says that, the commercialization of the media is affecting the standard and democracy of journalism. It is because of this that he argues saying “it is increasingly unlikely that much of the future news provision in the UK will meet the informational needs of a democracy”. According to him, there is a significant underrepresentation of the ethnic minorities in the British press that stimulates a doubt about the possibility of accessing balanced representations of issues that revolve around the immigration, asylum seekers and terrorism (ibid).

Studies have revealed the impact of human rights reporting in terms of education, protection and promotion of the human rights, development of foreign policy (Berry and McChensney, 1988; Reisman, 1984). As observed already in chapter 1, studies have also revealed the power of the media to create opinion amongst the general public to influence the policy makers and Members of the Parliament to consider human rights in their foreign policy making (Gilboa, 2005; Cottle, 2009; Wolfsfeld, 1991; Robinson, 2013).

The protection and promotion of human rights through the media are embedded in two international human rights documents: 1. Article 19 of the UDHR 2. Article 19 (2) of the ICCPR. It is on this basis that activities such as exposing information on human rights violations, rallying up the human rights organizations, strengthening the participation of the civil Society, enhances the tolerance and exposure of the information on the activities of the governments that are expected from the media (Balabanova, 2015, p. 35).

In a study on the relationship between the protection of human rights and media freedom, it has been found that whenever the censorship is found to be high, the human rights violations also tends to be equally found high. When congenial conditions are in existence for the freedom of the media, the news media could execute their ‘watch dog’ and ‘fourth estate’ functions properly preventing the human rights infringements. The ability of the media in creating free expression paves the way for minority and dissenting opinions to be listened, providing alternative information and analysis (Appodaka, 2007, p. 156).

If in reality, the human rights are to be respected, first the journalists, policy makers and the general public have to be aware of it. Based on this premise, the media has a righteous obligation to provide true information with regard to the human rights matters and thereby ensure that right decisions are made relevant to them. Thus, Anderson (2007b, p. 43) put

forward an idea that a free media with high caliber journalism is needed for providing accurate and verified information to create an enlightened citizenry so that they can meaningfully participate in the social and political affairs that intrude in their life.

The knowledge that could be created by the information that is received being vigilant the exposure of human rights violations whenever they occur, empower the people and the policy makers. Conversely, the media is able to set the ‘agenda’ relevant to those human rights violations by instituting a dialogue amongst citizens. By providing information on certain human rights violations, the media is able to make the people think further. When more reporting is done on particular matters in a specific way, people tend to notice its importance and that triggers further insight into thinking. In this process the media effectively includes and excludes certain ideas and information, and thereby produces a clear portrayal of the issue to set a public agenda (McCombs, 2003; Pan and Kosicki, 1993; Scheufele, 2000; Mannheim & Albritton, 1984; Love, 2008). This depends on up to what extreme the media are responding to the terms of quantitative and qualitative news coverage. This doesn’t mean that just because the media reports a matter based on the number, that they can succeed in an agenda setting of a specific human rights event. But, also how they frame the matter is equally important in setting the agenda’ (Balabanova, 2015, p. 36-37).

This is where the nexus between framing a news event and agenda setting is demonstrated. Not only the framing but also the level of priority given to a human rights violations in terms of number, influence the ‘agenda setting’ of a specific issue. For example, if we consider newspapers, there is a significant difference in the levels of attraction between a human rights violations news being published in the front page as the headline news with photographs and the same being published as a small news in the inner pages. It is the media that decides on the priority of a news, after evaluating it in a context of a political, social and economic reason as to whether the news has any worth for its institution. Cole describes this as “Information Politics” (Quoted in Balabanova, 2015, p. 38).

On the basis of this “Information Politics”, when a particular human rights violation draws the attention of the media and goes into the attention of the people, it will cause much predicament in many ways to the country or faction, which lets it engage in human rights violations, in a context where the information technology has attained massive growth. In order to stop human rights violations, they are compelled by the pressures of international

countries and human rights organizations and at are subjected to various types of diplomatic pressures and interventions. In addition, the media reporting of human rights issues mobilises the local civil society organizations, human rights organizations and people to create unfavourable situations to the government or to those who engage in human rights violations (Balabanova, 2015, p. 38). To quote McCorquodale and Fairbrother (quoted in *ibid*, p.39):

[The] globalised communications system can provide human rights groups with information, assistance, and support in their resistance to oppression. When people know about human rights and are aware of the human rights abuses, they are more likely to seek to protect them. This exposure would lead to changes in policy by the state concerned.

Meanwhile, as per Ovsiovitch (*ibid*), documenting human rights violations reported by the media shall be of great assistance to human rights organizations and non-government organizations to campaign for international intervention and investigation against perpetrators of human rights violations. On the other hand, according to Dhir and Soh (*Ibid*) when the human rights organizations and non-government organizations obtain and publish information and evidences regarding human rights violations, they draw the attention of the media to contribute to setting the agenda. Similarly, the social media provides a significant contribution in setting the agenda as well.

Although, the roles that the media could play in protecting and promoting human rights has been highlighted in this section, it should also be noted that in several instances, the media have failed to prevent mass atrocity crimes and human rights abuses, due to a number of reasons that were identified above. Particularly, when journalists act on the basis of the principle of “objectivity”, they tend to deviate from their moral responsibility to take a side to protect the human rights. It is because of this that several scholars argue that, the doctrines of journalism have to undergo changes on the basis of an old saying “old should go and new should take their place”. This is in order to prevent human rights violations and create peace in times of conflict. It is on this basis that doctrines like “Peace journalism” and “Human Rights journalism” have drew the attention of the media industry.

4.2.1 Human Rights Journalism (HRJ) and Responsibility to Protect (R2P)

The book entitled “Human Rights Journalism: Advances in Reporting Distant Humanitarian Interventions” authored by Shaw focuses exclusively on the

conceptualisation of human rights journalism on the basis of the reporting of physical, structural and cultural violence within the context of humanitarian intervention (Shaw, 2012). Throughout his book, Shaw argues that “journalists not only hold the power to inform the public, but connect people in different parts of the world and promote public knowledge and understanding of the issues and events. Nevertheless, more importantly, have the moral responsibility – as duty bearers- to educate the public, increase awareness in its members of their rights and monitor, investigate and report all human rights violations” (Ibid, p.2), which in turn, is a manoeuvre to right the wrongs of the dynamics of the news production of the mainstream media, rather than proposing new models (ibid, p.5-6).

The importance of Ibrahim Seaga Shaw’s approach to HRJ is its capacity and potential to deal with negative peace (mere absence of direct violence or war) and positive peace (Peace by peaceful means, sustainability and justice, which eliminates the causes of violence) as well as positive rights and negative rights, informed by Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), which declares: ‘all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights’.

For Ibrahim Seaga Shaw, this preventive or proactive role of HRJ goes hand in hand with the theories of mass communication, human rights and peace. In other words, it resonates with the earlier discussed ‘just peace framework’ advocated by the peacebuilding scholar Lisa Schirch (Schirch, 2002). Referring to social policy Professor Jim Ife, Shaw iterates that human rights and peace are mutually dependent in a manner that peace cannot be achieved if human rights are not protected and realised, while at the same time human rights cannot be protected if peace is absent (ibid, p.18). This rationale clearly shows the ‘normative capacity’ of HRJ to provide a facilitating role for the function of the ‘Trio Diagram’ of Parlevliet’s Iceberg metaphor, Dugan’s nested paradigm model and R2P’.

It is with these theoretical perspectives of human rights and conflict transformation that Shaw argues that “it is when violence is allowed to canalise at will from the indirect cultural and structural forms of violence (positive peace) to the direct psychical violence (negative peace) that it becomes more measurably biting and destructive, and that human rights journalism can be the effective alternative strand of journalism that can prevent this canalisation” (Shaw, 2012, p.20).

Thus, HRJ can be described as a ‘normative journalistic practice’ and ‘a rights-based journalism’ for all human beings irrespective of ‘colour, nationality, race, gender, geographical location and so on’ (Shaw 2012, p.1) inspired by Kant’s ideals of enlightenment and cosmopolitanism. This ‘rights-based’ practice of journalism guided by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to a great extent can function as a pacemaker to complement the ‘Trio Diagram’ of Parlevliet’s Iceberg Metaphor, Dugan’s nested paradigm model and R2P illustrated above.

Therefore, to function as a pacemaker of the ‘Trio Diagram’, HRJ should necessarily have the ability to identify human rights violations and how they cause conflict, and at the same to identify how human rights violations are symptoms of violence. Thereby, it should also be able to demonstrate a political function to bring the attention of the world to the suffering of the people, human rights abuses and their physical, structural and cultural causes, so that it enables the international community as a cosmopolitan community of humanity to respond appropriately, as per the three responsibilities and three pillars of R2P. Thus, media ought to play a diagnostic and prognostic role in terms of “providing information by covering the national, geopolitical and humanitarian angles of the news, paying more attention to analysing its political context; that it puts emphasis on explaining why things went wrong up to the crisis, instead of just telling the story as it is” (Shaw, 2012, p.96). The expectation from HR journalists is not just disseminating information about a crisis, but to analyse the crisis and its causes by drawing insights from the concepts of conflict analysis and transformation, so that the states and/or international community can respond to the crisis in accordance with the R2P criteria.

It is in this interdisciplinary and integrated understanding of these characteristics within the context of human rights, global justice and conflict resolution that Shaw’s definition of HRJ fits in with the ‘Trio Diagram’ (Ibid, p.46):

A diagnostic style of reporting, which gives a critical reflection on the experiences and needs of the victims and perpetrators of human rights violations of all types – physical as well as cultural and structural. In order to stimulate the understanding of the reasons for these violations and to prevent or solve them in ways that would not produce more human rights imbalances or violations in the future. Moreover, it is a journalism that challenges, not reinforces, the status quo of the powerful dominant voices of society against the weak and marginalised ones in the promotion and protection of human rights and peace.

This definition characterises the broad spectrum of roles inscribed in Parlevliet's iceberg metaphor illustrated above (rules; structures and institutions; relationships; and process), and the relevance of Parlevliet's multidimensional approach to deal with conflicts. Thus it shows its relevance and effectiveness in facilitating the R2P norm.

As it can be understood from this discussion, the diagnostic style of reporting of HRJ places more importance on addressing power imbalance in the society towards a positive social change. As Parlevliet (2002, p26) explains, it is important to analyse the asymmetry of power and resources in conflict ridden societies and see their possible repercussions on conflicts by analysing the nature, organisation and functioning of the state and its institutions, so as to design intervention strategies to address the core issues of structural violence, political marginalisation and socio-economic injustice. Asymmetry of power and resources in societies in accessing institutions and protecting identity creates an antagonistic nature of relationships between parties in conflict. Therefore, intervention efforts should focus both on addressing the imbalance of power and resources and relationships.

Preventive strategies and peacebuilding strategies are not likely to eliminate problems and create positive social change unless these strategies are capable enough to address asymmetry of power and resources in society (Lederach, 1997; Francis, 2004).

Another likely destructive result of power imbalance particularly in situations of mass atrocity crimes is the hostility of those who hold power and authority against efforts for positive change, as they tend to regard demands for protection of rights as a threat or nuisance (cited in Parlevliet, 2010). Thus, they are more likely to reject calls from the international community even if they are legally bound to respect international human rights treaties and instruments, which protect human rights when exercising their powers. When geopolitics is involved, one nation's hoods are another's soul-mates, and that's where it gets further complicated in upholding international human rights norms.

To make states to fulfil its obligation to uphold human rights norms, as Parlevliet highlights, considerable and sustained public pressure and political impetus may need to be created to challenge the resistance of them. As much as possible, this challenging process needs to adopt a cooperative approach along the lines of Kant's 'doctrine of rights', discussed earlier, and thus try their best to "refrain from working *against* that resistance but rather try to work *with* it as a potential energy for change; pathologising it in terms of 'spoilers' is not necessarily helpful" (2002, p.27).

Explicably this discussion is all about invoking the three underlying responsibilities of R2P through its pillar approach. This is where the role of HRJ is immensely important as opposed to the conventional journalism, as observed already in chapter three. This fails to address the power imbalance in the hands of the few powerful sections of society and to challenge the status quo of them in a manner that they cannot violate the rights of the weak. Shaw identifies five features of conventional journalism (Distance frame, Evocative reporting, Reactive, Non-interventionist and War journalism) making him to term it as “Human Wrongs Journalism (HWJ)” (Shaw, 2012, p.96). On the other hand, the diagnostic and prognostic role of HRJ, informed by critical/empathy, diagnostic, pro-activism, interventionism and peace journalism frames, “challenges, not reinforces, the status quo of the powerful dominant voices of society against the weak and marginalised ones in the promotion and protection of human rights and peace” (Shaw, 2002, p.46). As opposed to Human Wrongs Journalism, HRJ prioritises the use of empathetic critical frames to encourage caring, pro-active interventionist attitudes and approaches to promote and protect human rights by addressing both direct and indirect violence with the view to challenge society’s power imbalance.

These five frames of HRJ are interconnected and mutually reinforcing across the dimensions of human rights and conflict transformation. For example, the empathetic critical frames, on one hand, exposes sufferings and problems of victims in a conflict, reinforcing the diagnostic frames to construct a social reality, which in turn helps to construct ‘(global) compassion’ which is explained by Birgitta Hoijer (2003) or the ‘cosmopolitan spectatorship’ elucidated by Lilie Chouliaraki (2006; 2008), making the audience active with strong moral commitment to facilitate the goals of interventionism framework to influence policy response and pro-activism framework to address direct and indirect violence to balance the social imbalance.

4.2.2 Epistemological grounding of HRJ and tracing its power

The underlying epistemology of all these frames of HRJ with regard to their end goal of safeguarding and fostering human rights and peace, whether it be through by creating the public pressure, compassion or balancing the power and relationship, relies on the construction of social reality informed by knowledge and information of the direct and indirect causes of conflict. Conversely, as elucidated in chapter three, factors such as the nature of news values, the relationship of journalism to power, the dependence on news sources and the language used to describe war, make conventional journalism to reinforce

the status quo of the powerful by creating distorted versions of reality, and fuel the conflict and become a part of problem. As Sonwalker describes, “It nurtures and reinforces a power geometry that is inherently unfair-some versions of reality are routinely presented as normal” (cited in Shaw, 2012, p. 99).

As Shaw describes, diagnostic reporting of HRJ, analyses all factors that influence a conflict “at the personal, institutional, and structural-cultural level, power relations and relations of power within a socio-cultural and political context” (*ibid.*, p.99), and thus constructs a social reality, to design human rights and peace building strategies.

In other words, for human rights and peace building strategies to be successful, actors should understand the true nature of events and their effects. HRJ, as a ‘rights based multidimensional’ approach has a great potential to fulfil this task in relation to establishing *prima facie* case within a critical constructivist epistemology, from which R2P can be invoked- however, appropriately along the line of three pillars.

As persuasively argued in this section, HRJ is grounded in critical constructive epistemology, which enables Human Rights Journalists to understand and inform the socio, cultural, political, ethical and moral foundations of a crisis, which have to be taken into consideration by the international community to assess the crisis situations that require international response in terms of interventions, peace-making and etc. Thus, the primary role of Human Rights journalists within a critical constructivist epistemology is to establish a *prima facie case* through the construction of social reality informed by socio, political, cultural, ethical and moral foundations for the realization of human security through the invocation of R2P.

Social constructivism is an embraced version of the philosophy of constructivism. It argues against the notion of constructing a neutral perspective, as the construction of reality is shaped by ‘consciousness’ and what actually exist is a perceived reality. According to constructivist epistemology, cosmos is a formation of “human construction—a social creation” (Kincheloe, 2006, p.8).

Meanwhile, a positivistic or rationalistic paradigm, has an objectivist epistemology (Crotty, 2003, p. 18). According to which, objects (known) are independent of the knower, and therefore truth exists independently, which is absolute and explicit. This absolute truth can be found through experiments. The truth value in positivistic epistemology is assessed on the basis of how they correspond to *true reality* (*ibid*, Kincheloe, 2006).

Conversely, constructivist paradigm scrutinises the natural contexts in which social phenomena occur by studying various philosophical as well as cultural and historical underpinnings. Critical constructivists take this understanding of social construction within a variety of social, cultural, philosophical and theoretical positions, and add the dimension of ‘critical theory’ to this mix (Kincheloe, 2006).

As we have observed in this chapter, the ‘Trio Diagram’ of Parlevliet’s Iceberg Metaphor, Dugan’s nested paradigm model and R2P is not anchored on a single theoretical orientation. Instead, a number of concepts share the same epistemological and ontological positions. Against this backdrop, critical constructivism provides a fertile epistemological foundation for the application of R2P and HRJ on their own as well as collaboratively.

As the epistemology of constructivism argues, nothing represents a neutral perspective before anything is shaped by consciousness (Kincheloe, 2006, p.8-10). What is perceived as ‘objective reality’ is nothing other than what is constructed by human mind. This allows different people with different background to construct the social reality differently. With regard to the practise of HRJ, this is partially problematic as there is a danger of HR Journalists with different backgrounds coming up with different versions of a crisis. But on the other hand, this is advantageous, as HR Journalists with different socio, cultural and historical background join together to construct the reality of the human rights issues of a crisis with due cultural differences. As a result, depending on the situations, knowledge of a crisis constructed out of the news production and news coverage of HR Journalists may or may not represent different cultural dimensions, and thus would be advantageous for interveners to better apply the ‘Trio Diagram’ of Parlevliet’s Iceberg Metaphor, Dugan’s nested paradigm model and R2P. However, the menace of HR journalists constructing conflicting realities could be minimised by adding the aspect of ‘critical engagement’ in news reporting. This aspect of ‘critical engagement’ in constructivist approach gives birth to the approach of ‘critical constructivism’, which is proposed as the “epistemological basis” of HRJ. This critical engagement of HR Journalists in light of Human Rights principles enables their consciousness to understand the dynamics in which dominant power operates to manage knowledge and serves elites to manipulate societies. As Kincheloe explains, this critical engagement is an introspective process which transpires not only self-knowledge, but also cultural and educational critique (2006, p.10).

Drawing insights from Kincheloe’s enlightenment of Critical constructivism, an advantage that can be attributed to HR Journalists is that they come to know themselves better by the

enlightenment of different theories of critical approaches to “consciousness, the process by which their consciousness was constructed” (ibid, p.11). The action that follows the process of reality construction of a crisis situation can be mediated in the context of socio, political, cultural, ethical and moral and political conditions of the causes and effects of human rights violations. By embracing critical constructivism, HR journalists are guided by ‘critical consciousness’, and they are able to detach themselves from the world which they are conventionalised to perceive and see how their work is influenced by factors such as the nature of news values, the relationship of journalism to power, the dependence on news sources and language as elucidated in chapter 3.

This detachment aspect is an important justification for HRJ that the practice of HRJ is not antithetical to the basic tenet of what Western Journalists believed was “good journalism”, namely objective (see Lyon, 2007). This detachment created by the enlightenment of critical theories to understand the influencing factors of social reality is the ‘objectivity pursued’ of news reporting within the concept of ‘inseparably of the knower and the known’.

Hence, HR Journalists are empowered by critical constructive understanding as to usually neglected questions such as why? Who? What? Where? And How? of the conflicts they cover. In a critical theoretical context they can more clearly investigate how rights are violated, their direct and indirect causes to encounter or reconstruct socio-political and economic power structures. In this manner, HRJ is empowered to serve for social justice, emancipation, equality, democracy and etc. Culturally negotiated and contextually specified knowledge is constructively produced through interpretive critical constructive processes, as opposed to objectivist knowledge produced through positivist approach in conventional journalism.

According to Kincheloe, critical constructivists look for subjugated knowledge, not subject- object dualism. When HR journalists strive for subjugated knowledge and the unique perspective of the victims within the concept of the inseparable of ‘the knower and the known’, they would be in a better position to challenge the power of the relationship of domination that perfuses the conventional objective journalism and its knowledge production. As Mc Ginty explains, “it is this the relationship of domination that allows for both the manipulation of natural process serve the logic of capital and the manipulation of human beings as the passive objects of social engineering” (cited in Kincheloe, p.14) . This separable concept of the knower and known, in conventional objective journalism,

positions objectivist journalists to engage in the game of ‘power domination’ between themselves and society, and thus they tend to fail in their moral responsibility of protecting the victims of conflicts. Instead they serve the interest of power elites and increase the power imbalance, as observed in chapter 3 and this chapter. In other words, it is this lack of ‘inseparability of the knower and the known’ in conventional journalism that makes it vulnerable to the manipulations of the elites and powerful people to serve their interests. It is a reason why the conventional journalism with its objectivity concept, once considered a good journalism practice, has failed to continue to perform the same, given the present-day wartime circumstances conditioned by propaganda strategies and technologically assisted activities/manipulations. This lack of ‘inseparability of the knower and the known’ did not allow the conventional journalism to adapt itself to cope up with the modern-day warfare conditions.

The concept of inseparability between the knower and known as opposed to the detached concept of objective journalism, views the information of victims as an important way of constructing the social reality, and thus it enables HRJ as counter-hegemonic to balance the power imbalance of the society.

This is where French Social Theorist Michel Foucault’s power concept becomes relevant. According to him, a researcher’s process of understanding or constructing the society is shaped by discourse referred to a body of relations, which in turn reflects existing power relationships, because the construction of societal reality through discourse is impacted by various sources of power. Discourse, as Foucault illustrates, is a culturally built representation of social reality, but not a mirror image. Knowledge is produced by the construction of discourse, and this discourse processing dictates what should be spoken and what should not be spoken. Therefore, the discourse process produces and reproduces both knowledge and power concurrently (Foucault, 1970; 1972).

This is the power of the media, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter referring to Van Dijk, plays the function of persuasion. This, as Van Dijk explains, is the ability and potentiality to influence the minds of their audience, but not their actions (1996, p, 10).

For Van Dijk, access is an important factor in the analysis of media power, as access to ‘discourse’ is central to manage and control power. Mass media is a tool of discourse production, and therefore those who want to exert power over society tend to control the

means of mass communication. Theoretically, ordinary people have the opportunity to use mass communication channels to impact their news production/ discourse production; however in reality they do not have access to these channels. Hence, they do not play an active role in discourse production (1996, p.11-12). However, according to journalism scholar Stuart Allan (2013), the advancement of internet, mobile communication, digital media and other applications have empowered the ordinary citizens to impact the news production of the traditional journalism with their ‘ citizen witnessing’.

Conversely, elite groups or institutions, with their better access to these mass communication channels have greater opportunity for attracting the media channels towards their discourses and communicative events, and are better able to influence the news production. This adroitness of elite groups to access discourse empowers them to exert power over the society and control the minds of the masses. Meanwhile, the media with its ability to control the ‘elite discourse’ makes the elite group to depend on them to construct the power that they want, in order to strengthen themselves in the power structure. In this manner, media intuitions tend to function as the ‘institutions of elite power and dominance’, with their uncritical engagements in constructing a reality of the ‘known’, as evident in chapter 3 in the case of the failings of conventional war journalism. On the other hand, as deliberated already, critical engagement of the media allows HR Journalists to create a room to mediate this harmful construction of reality within the understanding of socio, political, ethical and moral foundations. This is where the difference between the ability of the conventional journalism and HRJ to construct the nature and scope of power through knowledge production becomes explicit.

To quote Van Dijk, “the more people affected, the larger the scope of the enactment of discursive power. More specifically, public discourse may affect the minds of many people” (1996, p.13). In other words, the more the access to news media, the higher the level of elite power. Notwithstanding the type of discourse production/knowledge production, one may not assume that the knowledge that is produced in the media is effective and influential in controlling the minds. Because people/victims do have access to various forms of communicative events and discourses, and this way they gain knowledge to reject or resist the persuasion power of the media. Therefore, as Van Dijk illuminates, “ in the same way as forms or modes of discourse access may be spelled out, the ways in which the minds of others may indirectly be accessed through text and talk should also be examined” (ibid).

As explained by Fairclough, a continuous interaction takes place, where society is shaped by discourse and sets boundaries for it, and at the same time, discourse is influenced by social practices (Fairclough, 2002). This is where Fairclough's idea of discursive order comes into discussion. As he (2002, 9) explains:

In every society where social action takes place, several discourses operate at the same time. Sometimes discourses reinforce each other, other times they might conflict with each other. The scholars refer to this network of discourses as *discursive orders*. In this network of discourses, there will be dominant discourses, which are considered to be mainstream modes of creating meaning, other discourses are seen as oppositional, or alternative, or perhaps legitimizing. The orders of discourse become the arena in society where the power plays take place and manifest themselves.

This is the power of the media, that media scholar Manuel Castells (2009), in his *Communication Power*, focuses on communication network power-making in society, with special reference to political power making. He defines power as “the relational capacity that enables a social actor to influence asymmetrically the decisions of other social actor(s) in ways that favour the empowered actor's will, interest and values” (ibid, p. 10). For Castells, communication power making is an outcome of various social actors of a network. This is where the role of citizen journalism becomes important in its role of ‘eyewitness reporting’ to challenge the power imbalance of the society through network society (Allan et al., 2007, p.374). As Allan explains, the ‘citizen witnessing’ of human rights violations can potentially “engender a sense of shared humanity”, and encourage action on the distant suffering (Allan, 2013, p.118).

In this context of communication power making, media can analyse and disseminate socio, political and cultural information of a conflict to create compassion and establish prima facie case of human rights violations as well as their causes by constructing the reality of a crisis, so that it can enable responsibility holders of a conflict to design and make interventional strategies consistent with the three responsibilities of R2P with global consensus. This is the kind of power the HRJ can construct to address the power imbalance of a conflict- ridden society, as opposed to the power of conventional journalism to reinforce the power imbalance of a society towards a zero-sum outcome.

This power can be new information, insights, understanding of a situation constructed by information through a learning process within critical constructive epistemology , and help

to improve human security at all levels by addressing power imbalance and addressing human insecurity that “involves transforming the social and political environment that fosters intolerable inequality, engenders historical grievances, and nurtures adversarial interactions” (Ibid, p.236).

In the above illustrated ‘Trio Diagram’ of Parlevliet’s Iceberg metaphor, Dugan’s nested paradigm model, the role of HRJ within the critical constructive epistemology can be a useful lens for the international community (relevant responsibility holders) to understand the true nature of things such as direct and indirect violence and socio, economic and cultural conditions of a conflict. Analysing all actors and factors of a conflict, human rights violations and their causes within critical constructivist epistemology enables the responsibility holders to decide on appropriate interventions.

Within this context, this study establishes a hypothesis that the application of R2P is conditioned by the level of construction of reality formed by information processing of a crisis. Transforming this conditioning factor as a *prima facie* case, enables (gives power) the international community (responsibility holder) to invoke R2P as a means of intervention to prevent mass atrocities and build peace in a constructive and legitimate manner.

In other words, the response and performance of the international community (responsibility holder) are uneven and dysfunctional, not because they are not capable, but because they do not have adequate information of direct and indirect violence/crisis to create opportunities for the international society at large to consider R2P options. They lack this information to create opportunities because of the inability of the conventional journalism to gather it due to the described reasons. They lack these opportunities for creating R2P options because they lack power. The way to achieve power is the ‘knowledge’, because according to Francis Bacon, “Knowledge is power”. As Gotthard Bechman defines knowledge can be defined as “capacity to act” implying its power to take (political) actions (Bechmann et al, 2009, p.21).

Similarly, as Philosopher Michel Foucault perceives, power is inseparably connected with knowledge, and both of them are socially constructed and are on two sides of the same social relations (Foucault, 1977, p.27). Since discourse is the vehicle of Power/knowledge processing, a qualitative change in the role of journalism in violent conflicts, which on one

hand can serve to address the power imbalance between parties and communities where violence is present, and on the other empower the international community to invoke R2P in an appropriate manner. For Foucault, “relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, and circulation and functioning of a discourse” (Foucault, 1977, p. 93). This is where the role of HRJ comes in to construct a reality of a crisis situation as a *prima facie* case, to create opportunities for the international community (responsibility holders) at large to consider R2P options.

4.3 Conclusion

The first section of this chapter discussed how human rights and conflict transformation approaches can become mutually assisting and reinforcing each other rather than working in isolation, to facilitate just peace framework. This section also explained how the just peace framework goes hand in hand with the pluralist and solidarist theories, thereby providing a basis for the practice of R2P. Importantly, this section illustrated how the nexuses between Parlevliet’s Iceberg Metaphor and Dugan’s nested paradigm model provide a fertile ground for the application of R2P, and thus form the epistemological ground.

The second section of this chapter dealt with the discussion on media and human rights, in particular on the theory and practice of HRJ. It further explained how HRJ within the critical constructive epistemology can facilitate the ‘Trio Diagram’ of Parlevliet’s Iceberg metaphor, and Dugan’s nested paradigm model along with the R2P’ model for its implementation. Importantly, this section traced the power of HRJ as a ‘rights based approach’ to promote and protect human rights, drawing insights from Foucault’s notion of regimes of truth. An important contribution of this chapter to the concept of HRJ is its development of epistemological grounding for its practice and research within the critical constructivist paradigm, which in turn answers a number of criticism on HRJ such as its argument for journalists’ moral responsibility towards human rights and tasking side of the victims. In addition, this study sheds light on rightly positioning the objectivity doctrine within the critical constructivist paradigm as opposed to the positivist paradigm to fulfil its visions, given the described reasons for the failings of conventional journalism.

Chapter 5: Research Methodology

5.0 Introduction

This chapter introduces the research methodology articulated in this study and how it has directed the data collection, analysis, findings and discussions in the forthcoming chapters. Chapter 2 in its theoretical orientation, having explained how R2P doctrine has evolved towards more of a rights-based and multidimensional approach within human rights and peace principles, it also reflects on the implementation of R2P. Furthermore, it detailed the failure of the UN and the international community to invoke R2P to prevent the mass atrocity crimes in Sri Lanka in 2008/2009. This highlighted the role the media could play in facilitating the implementation of R2P in an appropriate manner through a rights based approach. However, chapter 3 described the problems of conventional war reporting and identified the factors which have oriented war journalism towards war and violence. This shed light on the potential constraints and limitations which could impact the media to facilitate the implementation of R2P, where necessary in an appropriate manner. Chapter 4 focussed its discussion on explaining how HRJ with its qualities has the potential of facilitating the implementation of R2P. Chapter 4 also explored the epistemological foundation of the theory and practice of HRJ grounded in critical constructivist theory. This analysed the relevance to R2P as a 'rights based approach' within the context of just peace theory and traced its 'power' to protect and promote human rights within the context of Foucault's 'regime of truth'. It was against this theoretical backdrop, the discussion in chapter 4 established a hypothesis that "the response and performance of the international community (responsibility holder) were uneven and dysfunctional. This was not because they were not capable, however as they did not have adequate information of direct and indirect violence/crisis to create opportunities for the international society at large to consider R2P options. The lack of information restricted it from creating opportunities due to the inability of the conventional journalism to gather the reasons identified earlier in the study. The lack of power was why they failed to get the opportunity to create R2P. The way to achieve power is the 'knowledge', because according to Francis Bacon, "Knowledge is power". As Gotthard Bechman defines knowledge can be defined as "capacity to act" implying its power to take (political) actions (Bechmann et al, 2009, p.21).

It was in this context of the hypothesis that this thesis endeavoured to answer the primary research question, “To what extent did the international media practice HRJ in the reporting of the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka to create options for R2P intervention?” This primary research question was by following three sub questions.

1. How and to what extent were the human rights violations and suffering of the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka reported in the international newspapers?
2. How and to what extent did the international newspapers expose the issues of human rights within the R2P framework to construct options for intervention in Sri Lanka?
3. What are the challenges that confronted the journalists in the course of their reporting?

Therefore, the challenge in this study was to identify the international press coverage of the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka in terms of their quantitative and qualitative aspects, to determine the extent of the practice of HRJ. And, also assess the quality of the discourse created to determine the ‘effect’ it has had in terms of its power to construct options for R2P. In turn, the answers to the research questions served to test the validity of the hypothesis generated in chapter 4.

Given the interdisciplinary nature of the research questions, this research used two independent thought mutually supportive methodologies which involved using two different sources of information whose purpose varied from one stage of the project to another: 1. Published media content (content analysis integrated with frame analysis and multimodal discourse analysis) 2. Face to face interviews with journalists (Grounded Theory).

The first phase of the research was very comprehensive as it aimed to answer the first two research questions. The aim of the study was to answer the research by analysing the published content of the international press. Analysing the newspaper content allowed me to get a better insight into the way the Sri Lankan humanitarian tragedy was covered in the international newspapers. Frame analysis and multimodal discourse analysis were integrated into the content analysis framework to answer the research questions by making inferences about what the text refers to; identifying, enumerating, and analysing occurrences of information and message characteristics embedded in the newspaper

content. This first phase analysis is the most vital to the analysis of study and therefore the content analysis is used as the primary key to answer the research question.

The second phase of the research involved face to face interviews with foreign correspondents who have been to Sri Lanka during and after the war to report on the situation. The interviews with the journalists were used as method was used as a supplementary method in this study, which gave the researcher the opportunity to share and enlighten the findings that were discovered in the content analysis. This includes the problems and challenges that the journalists faced whilst reporting in Sri Lanka and also the factors that affected the reporting process, which also answered the 3rd research question. All the interviews were analysed using grounded theory as described by Strauss and Corbin.

5.1 First Phase: Quantitative and Qualitative Content Analysis

In its initial phase, this study needed to know the volume of news coverage such as human rights violations and sufferings during the war in Sri Lanka in the international press between 8th September, 2008 and 20th May, 2009. The reason for choosing this time frame and using that as the sampling because as explained in chapter 2, the final phase of the last Eelam war started with the complete removal of all humanitarian agencies including the UN in September 2008 and ended in May 2009. It was on the 8th of September, 2008, the Sri Lankan government ordered all humanitarian organisations except ICRC to evacuate Vanni. The war ended on the 19th of May, 2009, crushing the decades' long armed struggle led by the LTTE, wiping out its entire leadership. Although, the war came to an end on the 19th of May 2009, newspapers published on the 20th May, 2009 included in the content analysis to scrutinise their coverage of the final day of the war on 19th May, 2009.

As mentioned in the secondary research questions, this study needed to scrutinise the extent to which and how human rights violations and suffering of the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka were reported in the international newspapers. Such analysis will involve a critical evaluation of the extent to which the frames of HRJ were expressed in the reporting and the specific sources that were most frequently relied upon in reporting. Furthermore, it also wanted to find out the extent to which the issues of human rights within the R2P framework constructed options for R2P intervention in Sri Lanka. Although these research

objectives can be answered within a qualitative research method, quantitative approach was found to be the most suitable tool in this case for the following reasons:

1. This study as mentioned above scrutinised the international press coverage of the humanitarian crisis between 8th September, 2008 and 20th May, 2009, and this involved the analysis of 1290 news stories including news reports /articles/columns published in six international newspapers. Analysing all these news stories in a qualitative manner using discourse analysis and frame analysis was found to be impossible due to the word count limitation for the thesis.
2. On the other hand, although some of the features of the news stories such as type of news stories, section of the newspaper, number of pictures, their nature and size, type of coverage and news sources can be scrutinised in a qualitative manner. Quantitative method was most useful to find out about the trends, relationships and patterns amongst and between these features.
3. As mentioned above, although it was decided not to use a separate qualitative method due to a large number of news stories, the nature and scope of this study necessarily required the articulation of the frame analysis and the multimodal discourse analysis to scrutinise HRJ frames and the typology of news stories. Therefore, as it will be explained in detail later in the discussion, this study innovatively created a matrix separately for the analysis of HRJ frames (Frame Analysis Matrix) and typology of news stories (Multimodal Discourse Analysis Matrix), and integrated them into the coding manual of the content analysis. These matrices themselves are original contribution to the research methods of investigating HRJ and spectatorship of sufferings. As these matrixes were completely new and theoretically sensitive, they were made subject to the opinion of the originators of these two theories respectively Ibrahim Seaga Shaw³ and Lilie Chouliaraki⁴.

The idea of these two matrices was not to analyse the news stories/articles in a qualitative manner, but to analyse them in a quantitative manner by integrating the framing analysis matrix and multimodal discourse analysis matrix. This was done so that comparisons could

³Dr. Ibrahim Seaga Shaw, "This idea of framing matrix seems to be an original contribution to the research methods for studying the practice of Human Rights Journalism". Email on 24/05/2016.

⁴Professor Lilie Chouliaraki, "It reads credible. It seems to me to be a good and promising operationalisation of the analytics of mediation and the framework of pity, within a quantitative research project. There is potential to expand further and test in other empirical contexts too". Email on 13/09/2016.

be made between different variables and trends could be observed among them with regard to the distance suffering. In total, this study analysed 1290 news reports published during the final war period in Sri Lanka (Sep 2008 and May 2009) in 6 international newspapers: *The Independent (UK)*, *The Times (UK)*, *The Washington Post (US)*, *The New York Times (US)*, *The Times of India (India)* and *The Hindu (India)*.

The following discussion of this chapter focuses on how the content analysis framework was prepared and how the frame analysis matrix and multimodal discourse analysis model were articulated and integrated into the coding manual of the content analysis framework.

5.1.1 Content Analysis Framework

Content analysis which in the words of Berelson means, “a research technique for objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest contents of communication” (Berelson 1954 cited in Deacon et al 2007, p. 115). This definition shows the quantifying aspect of achieving the research objectives in a systematic manner.

The quantitative part of analysis of this study of this thesis involved the following six guiding steps formulated from the research insights gathered from Deacon et al (2007, p.75). 1. Identify the research questions in a coherent manner 2. Define the total range of content to be scrutinised 3. Formulate a ‘coding manual’ 4. Analyse a sample content 5. Collate the findings 6. Critically reflect on the findings.

Lexis Nexis database was used to gather selected newspaper materials. The advantage of using *Lexis Nexis* is its ability to gather relevant forms of news items with all necessary details such as publication date, page number, and type of story. In addition, it has an advanced search facility to perform content analysis with specific words, and highlight and make notes of the analysis.

Analysis of sample content was performed with the *Times* Newspaper of the UK. Gathering newspaper materials published in *The Times* newspaper during the defined period was performed using the search function with the search word ‘Sri Lanka’ anywhere in the text of the newspaper. The database was able to filter 565 published materials during the selected period. However, reading through all the filtered content, the researcher was able to find out that most of the materials identified with the word ‘Sri Lanka’ were related to sports stories, particularly about the Cricket matches as Sri Lanka

is one of the most famous cricket playing countries in world. There were also several other irrelevant news materials such as tourism and business stories. Therefore, the search was further narrowed down with an additional word using the ‘And’ function with the following words: ‘Tamil’, ‘War’, ‘Army’, ‘LTTE’. Before any of the analysis of these newspapers which was based on themes and categories, the idea was to find out the total number of materials published in *The Times* regarding the war. Having done that the following numbers were obtained:

Sri Lanka and Tamil	-259
Sri Lanka and war	-249
Sri Lanka and LTTE	-37
Sri Lanka and Army	-171
Sri Lanka and Tigers	-222
Sri Lanka and Conflict	-211

Among these results, the words ‘Sri Lanka’ And ‘war’ topped with 249 entries. Therefore, it was logically prudent to further narrow down the results by adding the ‘war’ together with ‘Sri Lanka’ And ‘Tamil’. The result was 185. In order to make sure that the adding of these three words do not prevent any entries without these three words together, but related to the crisis in Sri Lanka, a random check was done using the entries that were filtered with the search words ‘Sri Lanka’ And ‘Tamil’. All 185 entries with the search words ‘Sri Lanka’ And ‘Tamil’ And ‘War’ were downloaded from the *Lexix Nexix* system and saved in MS Word. Using the find function in MS Word, it was found that all the materials published that are related to the Sri Lankan crisis had these three words (‘Sri Lanka’ And ‘Tamil’ And ‘War’) together.

Based upon this sample analysis, these three search words were consistently used in all other newspapers, except the Indian Newspapers. However, by manually reading through all the entries and filtering the topics using these three combinations of words the search was further narrowed down as there were a number of duplicate entries and those included the reader’s feedbacks as well. For a number of reasons, the researcher was unable to use the *Lexix Nexix* system to filter the Indian newspapers for the analysis: 1. The leading Indian newspapers selected for the analysis have several editions which are quite dissimilar depending on the States where they are published. The *Lexix Nexix* was not able to verify these separate editions. 2. Also, the *Lexix Nexix* was not efficient enough to classify Indian newspapers’ website content and print version of a newspaper. 3. Not all the selected Indian newspapers were available.

The researcher used *Lexis Nexis* only to identify the relevant news reports, articles, columns and editorial during the selected period. The researcher could have relied on the *Lexis Nexis* if this was involved in the analysis of the news content of the newspapers. Instead, in addition to the news content, this study wanted to analyse if a selected news / article accompanied any photos, their sizes, the nature of the photos (file photo or current) as well as the section/location of the newspaper in which the news /article appeared. Merely analysing the news content cannot reveal the impact of a news /article published in the newspaper. For example, there is a huge difference between publishing a news story of an attack at a hospital on the front page of a newspaper with photographs and publishing the same story on the inside pages of the newspaper in a small column size.

Therefore, it was essential in this study to look at the selected news reports, article, columns and news feature in the newspaper, and thus the researcher decided to access the British Library to use the microfilms of the selected newspapers. By using the scanners to read the microfilms, the researcher examined the filtered news reports, article, news feature, editorial and columns from the *Lexis Nexis* and recorded the findings in the prepared coding manual. However, as explained above, as the researcher was unable to use the *Lexis Nexis* to filter the Indian newspapers, he examined manually the whole content of two selected newspapers published during 8th September, 2008 and 20th May, 2009 and identified the appropriate news, article, columns, editorial and news features, which was time consuming

The British library's digital archive system had some digitalised versions of *The New York Times* and *The Independent*. However, the digitalised versions of other selected newspapers were not available during the selected period, and therefore Microfilms of the newspapers were used for the rest of the four newspapers.

The researcher wanted to analyse the first two leading English newspapers in India that were *The Times of India* and *The Hindustan Times*. However, at the time of the analysis, the British library neither had Microfilms nor digitalised versions of *The Hindustan Times*. Repeated efforts to get the newspapers from *The Hindustan Times* didn't produce any positive outcome. Thus, the researcher decided to choose *The Hindu*- the 3rd leading English newspaper which is known for its coverage of Sri Lankan civil war than any other Indian newspaper.

Why Newspapers?

Only newspapers were chosen in the Content analysis. Although, people turn to television for news coverage these days, newspaper readership remains high and the role of newspapers is crucial in setting public discourse. In addition, the role of newspapers has been proved to be very influential in the media coverage of humanitarian crises.

Importantly, according to the author's preliminary analysis, the international television coverage of the Sri Lankan crisis during the selected period, compared to the international newspapers, proved ignorable. Therefore, it was meaningless to scrutinise a very low number of television coverage to address the aim of this study.

Moreover, the author of this research, as a human rights activist as well as a journalist, during the Sri Lankan humanitarian crisis, who engaged in a media monitoring of the coverage, is of the view that the international television coverage of the crisis is very low and negligent. This is perhaps because of the complete ban on the journalists entering the war zone by the Sri Lankan government. Also, the lack of access to the war zone might have seriously affected the television news channels than the newspapers, as the former is much dependent on the video footages of the war for its news reporting.

In addition, the author of this research as a newspaper journalist with several years of experience of war reporting as well as with his previous research experience on the newspapers coverage of the newspapers, was in a comfortable position, to scrutinise the newspaper coverage of the Sri Lankan crisis than the television coverage.

Sampling of Newspapers

Purposive sampling method was used to select the newspapers and their countries to represent international press. Two newspapers were chosen from the following countries: India, UK and US. These three countries were actively involved in the Sri Lankan conflict and considered as the primary obliged responsibility holders to invoke R2P during the humanitarian crisis.

The UK and the US acted as the co-sponsors of the previous peace process and had been actively involved in the Sri Lankan conflict to find a solution. In addition, Sri Lanka is one of the countries colonised by Britain and the administrative changes made by Britain

during its colonisation is widely acknowledged as the source of the ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka. In this context the UK has a historical responsibility to resolve the conflict and prevent the human rights violations in Sri Lanka. Similarly, India is the regional superpower and its sphere of influence over the Sri Lankan ethnic conflict is excessive. The US as the world's superpower and its involvement and influence in Sri Lanka is also a known fact. Although the European Union got involved in the Sri Lankan ethnic problems as one of the Co-chairs of the peace process as in the case of the US, none of the EU countries except the UK were selected in this study, because, 1. It was pragmatically impossible to do the data gathering and analysis of many more countries within the limited time given in writing this thesis. 2. Although EU was, to a significant extent, an influential external actor in Sri Lanka, the other co-chair countries had played greater and somewhat specific roles, and as a result their influential level was greater than the EU countries. 3. None international newspapers in English are printed in the EU countries 4. A test analysis showed that the level of media coverage of the Sri Lankan crisis in the newspapers of these countries was not enough to use in the analysis of this study.

The newspapers selected for the analysis are: Times and The Independent (UK), The New York Times and Washington Post (US) and Indian Express and The Hindu (India). These are the leading newspapers in these countries and are recognized internationally.

Coding Manual

A coding guide (Appendix 1) and coding manual (Appendix 4-9) were prepared by identifying the categories. The author filtered the news entries by reading them, and the Microsoft Excel spreadsheet was used to analyse the data.

Content analysis facilitates both quantitative and qualitative investigation (Weerakkody, 2009). Quantitative content analysis enabled the researcher to examine the manifested content in the news stories such as frames, function of news sources, aesthetic quality, and agency. Meanwhile, the latent content of a message was analysed in an interpretative manner to uncover the hidden, implied, connotative meanings of the message. Therefore, the described investigative process of the first phase of this study necessarily had to use both quantitative and qualitative content analysis in a systematic manner. The purpose of the content analysis served two purposes:

1. To get a clear picture of the newspaper coverage of the Sri Lankan humanitarian crisis in terms of a number of variables (see Appendix 3) such as “Type of Articles” vs. “All published news”, “Sections of Newspaper” vs. “All published news”, “Total number of news items with photos” vs “All published news”, “Type of stories” vs. “All published news”, “Quoted or mentioned sources” vs. “All published news”, “Noteworthy War incidents” vs. “All published news”, “Key Frames” vs. “All published news” and “Key Frames” vs. “Sub- frames”.

2. This study inevitably had to underpin its analysis within the theoretical principles of HRJ and spectatorship of suffering in a quantifying manner. This is why, as mentioned above, this study created a Frame Analysis Matrix for HRJ and Multimodal Discourse Analysis Matrix for typology of news stories, and integrated them into the content analysis coding manual. This enabled the researcher to study their emphasis, identify the patterns, analyse what exists, happens, and what matters in the news reporting. This also helped to identify the relationship and nexus between the frames and the variables.

The discussion below focuses on the theoretical underpinnings for these two matrices.

5.1.2 Frame Analysis

Goffman’s (1974) *Frame Analysis* will be integrated into the content analysis to articulate the qualitative part of the research. In this way, the qualitative aspects of the Frame Analysis is assessed in a quantitative manner for the reasons described in the preceding paragraphs. As Kuypers (2006, p.8) describes:

Framing is a process whereby communicators, consciously or unconsciously, act to construct a point of view that encourages the facts of a given situation to be interpreted by others in a particular manner. Frames operate in four key ways: they define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies. Frames are often found within a narrative account of an issue or event, and are generally the central organizing idea.

Frame Analysis helps a researcher to understand how a news story is presented to the audience (“the frame”) and how a particular way of presenting a story influences the choices of the people who are receptive to this news story. There can be several frames in a news story which are shaped and produced by the information they convey and disseminate (Goffman, 1974; Fairhurst & Sarr; 1996 and Scheufele, 1999).

Kuyper finds frames as a powerful aspect of a media production due to its capacity to filter peoples' imagination and representation of the world in specific ways, prioritising certain aspects of the multidimensional reality of a situation than others. In other words, frames in a text make "some information more salient than other information" (Kuypers, 2009, p.181).

As William Gamson describes, facts are neutral until framed. He argues that facts have no intrinsic meaning until they are set in a frame or a narrative. Certain facts are organised by frames in a conscious or unconscious manner, and as a result they get coherence and get highlighted than other facts (Gamson, 1989).

Framing is a process, whereby actors organise the facts of a situation in a manner they highlight certain information over other, and their point of view. In this process the frames tend to highlight a particular reality of a multidimensional reality of a situation, by identifying the problem and its causes as well as making moral judgments and suggesting remedies (Kuypers, 2009, p.185). As Robert Entman explains, salient and selection are the two important elements of framing. Salient makes audience to see the piece of information they receive as more meaningful, memorable and noticeable (1993, p.52).

Therefore, Frame Analysis, as far as this study is concerned, is a suitable qualitative analytical tool to identify and assess the frames of HRJ and their functions in the international newspaper coverage of the Sri Lankan crisis. This analytical process will shed light on understanding the 'reality' perceived by the audience, when exposed to media content organised by the facts framed by the journalists who covered the Sri Lankan humanitarian crisis. In other words, this study is all about the agenda setting capacity of HRJ to invoke R2P, where the articulation of Frame Analysis which is related to agenda setting tradition, becomes inevitable.

The type of framing analysis used in this thesis will be comparative framing analysis as described by Kuypers. The comparative Frame Analysis enables the researcher to better understand the mediated communication of the Sri Lankan humanitarian crisis with distance spectators. It will allow the researcher to engage in a cross national and cross journalism comparison. The cross national comparison is between the crisis reporting by the different newspapers from various countries such as the US, UK and India in the context of geopolitical implications. For example, the way the newspapers 'selected' (news

selection) and made ‘salient’ (agenda setting) the humanitarian crisis. The cross journalism comparison is a constant comparison of the influence of the features of Human Wrongs Journalism (HWJ) and HRJ, as the analysis will shed light in understanding where, why and what wrong.

Taking into consideration the factors that were discussed above, a ‘*Framing Matrix*’ was prepared embracing the framing matrix strategy and framework articulated by Ryan (1991). Ryan adopted this matrix from the earlier works of Gamson & Lasch (1983), who in his model enabled the frames to characterise their core positions, metaphors, images, catchphrases and attributions of responsibility for the problem, and the solution implied by the frame (see Rayan 1991; also see Gamson & Lasch 1983; Gamson and Modigliani, 1989). In other words, arranging the characteristics of the news reports in a described manner enables the researcher to identify relevant frames. Originally, this *framing* matrix was prepared to help public health practitioners to identify and evaluate potential ways of framing an issue.

Winnet, Wallack and others (Certain Trumpet Program, 1996; Winnet, 1995) further adapted these framing matrix, suggesting the idea of a framing memo, to list all potential ways in which an issue could be framed (by opponents and proponents of a policy) and attributed. Afterwards this would provide a strategic analysis based on the evaluation of each frame.

To prepare a framing memo, a researcher must conduct a systematic search and review of newspaper articles on the chosen issue. Researcher can then review them to identify how both sides frame or position the policy issue. In identifying a framing strategy, a matrix is prepared that summarises, each strategy:

Core position- It indicates the main argument summarised in one sentence.

Metaphor – It refers to a familiar character in a text and speech to describe something which difficult to understand, and thus it has same characteristics of ‘something’

Catch phrases- Frequently used terms and phrases to strengthen the discourse.

Symbols and Images- Meaning making of text – image relationship

Source of problem- Ability of the frame to identify the causes

Appeal to principle- The individual’ core values to which the argument built in the frame appeals.

This study used this *framing memo* in a configuring manner to identify the properties/arguments of the newspapers' content that constructs the sub-frames of HRJ and HWJ, to prepare a framing matrix. Shaw, in his theory of 'Human Rights Journalism', using a number of case studies, has already identified the frames of HRJ and HWJ. Thus further research on identifying the frames that operate in the research discipline of HRJ was not necessary. However, what is lacking in his book is the identification of the properties/arguments which construct the sub-frames of HRJ and HWJ, without which a researcher who conducts a HRJ study cannot identify the frames in a systematic/scientific manner.

The researcher had to read through all the newspaper content several times to identify the properties of the *framing memo* that represent each sub-frame of HRJ and HWJ. The completion of this process was the construction of the *Framing Matrix* to identify the sub-frames of HRJ and HWJ which was used in the coding manual.

The identification of the properties of sub-frames is an important contribution to the methodology of analysing the practice of HRJ. Although these properties of sub-frames were identified from the newspaper coverage of the final war in Sri Lanka, they are shared characteristics of the sub-frames, and can be applied to a larger extent or can be modified, corresponding to the case studies.

This framing matrix integrated into the content analysis provides an opportunity to compare the emphasis and the function of the frames articulated by the journalists in their reporting of the crisis.

As this study involves the analysis of more than 1290 news stories of 6 newspapers, it makes it impossible to scrutinise every single article in a qualitative frame analysis process, and thus engages in a quantitative investigation in an innovative manner. Moreover, given the scope of this research, this study finds quantitative analytical framework more relevant and useful than the qualitative framework.

Illustration 2 Human Rights Journalism Framing Matrix

Frames	Core Position	Metaphor	Images	Catch Phrases/words	Source of the problem	Solution to the problem	Appeal to principle
Empathy Critical	Analysing the root causes/Provide better understanding of the problem; serves as informative platform through questions and structural realities	Rights based approach	Civilian casualties/ sufferings, devastation of livelihood systems, property/environment	Civilians trapped, Loss of civilian life; "bloodbath"; Innocent casualties; targeting civilians; scores of people dead or wounded; packed with wounded civilians ; Unattended bodies & injured people; attack on hospitals; barbed wire detention camps, hostage-taking, summary execution, rape, torture, arbitrary arrests and imprisonment, disappearance; so-called "No-Fire Zone"; human cost of the conflict; untold suffering; unimaginable humanitarian catastrophic; countless victims; terrible humanitarian situation; slaughter/massacre of civilians; civilians caught up; living in bunker;	concentration of power in the hands of the few resourceful people and political communities in global society'	Represent victims of violence and being part of a global voice.	UDHR
Diagnostic Reporting	Upholding of human rights through the construction of human rights based discourse	construction of reality	Images of historical background of conflicts, sociocultural damage and psychological damage	Power sharing, lasting peace, sustainable solution, Equality for all, ' Military occupation; Cost of conflict/war; High Security Zones; Access to Justice; Discrimination; Marginalisation; human rights abuses; denial of education and employment; as second class citizens; brutal civil war; resentment and suspicion; vicious civil war; Decades of Civil War; curtailment of freedom of expression; divided country;	Underlying causes of human rights violations are not exposed/ lack of understanding/ Distorted versions of reality	critical evaluation and analysis/ critical engagement	Free speech/ Watchdog journalism
Proactive	Look ahead and inform in advance/early warning, so that you can act	before it happens;	Withdrawal of humanitarian agencies from the war zone; movements of harmful military equipment; presence of children and women in the war zone; places of worship, schools, hospitals & historical artefacts in the area;	War crimes; risk of starvation; in danger of being killed; A bloody endgame to this conflict would certainly be a disaster; avoid a very large-scale humanitarian crisis; The safety of civilians; "evolving human tragedy"; mounting civilian cost; fired by both parties; ensure the protection and well-being of civilians;	Failing to diagnose the problem, and finds a fitting response, before they escalate into violence	Early warning and rapid response	Responsibility to Protect
Interventionist	Draw IC's/ responsibility holder's attention	Persuasive Communication	Mass atrocities, usage of banned weapons such as cluster bombs and phosphorous grenades; attacks on hospitals and schools; people dying without food and water; scores of dead bodies and bloodied civilians;	Justice, accountability, humanitarian and human rights law, those responsible to be brought to justice; suspend military action; violating the rules of war; war crimes; crimes against humanity; risk of atrocities; act urgently to protect civilians; declare a truce; situation is now critical; war without witnesses; hidden from public view; no access to war zones/ refugee camps; war must end; could produce a "bloodbath"; obligation to act; no right to perpetrate atrocities; access to the conflict zone;	States/tyrannical regimes/ Non-state actors fail to protect their populations and engage in human rights violations	Establishment of prima foci case & construct compassion for political/ military action	Solidarity school of thought/responsibility to react/responsibility to protect/ cosmopolitan global justice
Peace Journalism	Promoting a culture of peace and providing a more balanced coverage that involves all conflict parties involved	win-win framing	Human and economic cost of war; dead bodies in coffins (the context in which it is presented is to be considered); potential victims; peace efforts/talks of local leaders, civil societies and political leaders; sufferings of civilians;	The war is won, but....; War never brings peace, Nobody can win the war; agree to ceasefire; Military restraint and serious negotiation; world is very disappointed; constitutional reforms; bringing sustainable peace; victory in the battlefield will remain hollow; will sow the seeds of hatred; War may get over soon, but'; through democratic means;	Violence is not a solution for conflict/ War can never bring sustainable peace	Promotes non-violence as a mean of conflict resolution	Nonviolence/ Conflict resolution

Illustration 3 Human Wrong Journalism Framing Matrix

Frame	Core Position	Metaphor	Images	Catch Phrases/words	Source of the problem	Solution to the problem	Appeal to principle
Empathy Distance Frame	war is inevitable/ Widen the gap between the concerns of the audience & the plight of the victims" by avoiding questions and structural realities;	"War for Peace/ Humanitarian War"; Civilian rescue operation;	Escaped/fleeing people; Refugees/victim being cared/ assisted by one party; dehumanisation of 'one' party; suicide/terror attacks outside the war zone; unworthy victims	Child Recruitment; Forcible recruitment; Suicide attacks; trapped civilians; slaughter of civilians (the context in which it is presented is to be considered); child soldiers surrendered; Human Shield;	Dictatorship/ terrorism/ State Terrorism	Wipe out the troublemakers/diss enters; "injection pains...but it cures"	Humanitarian Assistance and Relief
Evocative Reporting	Sensitising public opinion to serve geopolitical interests	Sensationalist Journalism /Drama	Emaciated/ wailing/ stranded victims; mourning for loved ones who had died; mothers holding their babies running; terrified children and women; atrocities of one party	Evacuation of civilians; lack of food, water and medicine; innocent civilians; civilian exodus; trapped civilians; fleeing civilians; mass exodus; malnutrition; needs of the displaced; provide relief and succour; tragedy without humanitarian assistance;	Only/primarily one party of the conflict	Evoke urgent humanitarian response to boost aid programmes than dealing with HR violations.	Humanitarian Assistance
Reactive	wait for the violence, casualties and damages to occur	Bystander journalism	Images of casualties and material damage; plumes of bomb debris; scenes of fighting and destruction;	Massive assault began; caused severe casualties; lost the battle; unaccounted for; Addressing the urgent needs of IDPs; caused immense suffering and misery; heavily shelled and bombed; captured strongholds; cornered into a small area;	War as a source of news	Report facts as we see them	Corporate journalism
Non-interventionist	Internal issue	Neutral observer	Rescued/escaped people; refugees being looked after by NGOs; humanitarian assistance and relief efforts; presence of international agencies; violence of losing/'weaker party;	Freeing terrorists' clutches; pressure them to surrender/lay down arms; uncompromising military secessionism; freeing the remaining civilians; Humanitarian/rescue operation; Interfering in internal affairs; they will use the ceasefire; it is our duty to protect our people; we are more concerned about our own citizens than anyone else could be.	unfair and uncompromising demands of terrorists	Let them sort their own problems out	The Realist School
War Journalism	War Journalism	Zero-sum game	Military operations; casualties; armoury, jubilant troops; scenes of fighting, martyrdom; scary soldiers waving guns; graphics of war preparation/ military strength; captured city; hoisting of victory flag	Victory is not so far away from; final assault; overwhelming the remaining; final hours; end game; no holds barred battle; escape routes cut off; hopeless battle; to save top brass;	Belief that the war is inevitable and righteous	war needs to be fought	Self defense from threat
	Terrorist	Threat Image Construction	Suicide attacks outside war zone; dead bodies in coffins (the context in which it is presented is to be considered); stranded/ fleeing, escaped victims (the context in which it is presented is to be considered); dehumanising graphics; worthy victims;	Suicide attacks; pioneered the use of suicide bombings; suicide squad; internationally banned terrorist outfit; ruthless terrorist organisation; terrorist attacks; internationally banned organisation; terror organization; ruthless and elusive; lethal and cruel; Pol Potist;	Terrorism is a mutating menace	Crushing down terrorism	War on Terror

In a similar manner, this study articulated Chouliaraki's (2006) Multimodal Discourse Analysis to scrutinise the typology of news stories by preparing a matrix which was integrated into the content analysis coding manual. The next section of this chapter moves on to discuss the underlying theories of the multimodal discourse analysis and the manner in which it was articulated in this study.

5.1.3 Multimodal Discourse Analysis

How the term 'discourse' was produced by the text and talk functions and how it contributes to the production of knowledge and identity under the influence of social contexts and power relations was discussed in chapter 4.

As far as the hypothesis of this thesis is concerned, tracing the power/knowledge configurations in the discourse production in the reporting of the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka is central to the analysis of the 'effect'. To what extent the international newspapers constructed the true reality of the humanitarian war in Sri Lanka to encourage international intervention and generate global compassion is something we discussed in the prior chapter.

In this sense, the ability of the discourse analysis to historically and culturally examine the conditions that influence the production of knowledge/power seemed an effective method to scrutinise the extent to which the international newspapers invoked 'human rights discourse'.

As Foucault claims, linguistic relations are associated with "particular systems of power/knowledge relations' specific to their historical juncture" (1977, p.27). This power relationship enables the meaning making process to claim a truth. According to Chouliaraki this is a "truth value" – a truth that reconstructs and recreates power in the meaning making process (Chouliaraki, 2010, p1; 2004, p.155). For Foucault, meaning and power are inseparable, meaning that they "are always already encountered in complex grids of co-articulation within every social practice" (Foucault 1982, p. 208). Treating both meaning and power as analytical aspects, Foucault says they can be investigated under discourse analysis (Foucault, 1982, p. 208). This also highlights the grounding of social constructionist epistemology of the discourse analysis, in which language is treated as a social activity rather than a pure information or mirror of the world and phenomena 'out-there' (Nikander, 2008).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), as Chouliaraki explains, involves the analysis of a peace- time aspect of news stories to understand the interaction between victims and the readers that may result in action on the suffering. CDA enables to identify the agency aspect in the meaning making process by identifying how the news coverage handles the actors involved in a crisis to communicate the suffering to the world (Chouliaraki, 2006). Therefore, scrutinising the news reports in terms of their functional characteristics and identifying them in line with these characteristics through CDA can greatly contribute to assess the media's construction and representation. This also gives a picture as to what extent the practice of HRJ contributed to the failure/success of the R2P in Sri Lanka during the humanitarian crisis war.

For Lilie Chouliaraki, not only the text, but also the analysis of images is extremely important as they are very influential in making the spectators/readers to feel and remember the suffering due to their aesthetic quality (*Ibid.*, p.76). For this purpose, Lilie Chouliaraki uses semiotic analysis together with CDA to examine the communicative effects of the images used in the media. The semiotic analysis process articulated by Lilie Chouliaraki is called "Multimodal", which she uses hand in hand with the CDA in her studies of distance sufferings.

In the articulation of multimodal and critical discourse analysis, the researcher is able to analyse how the image and text are handled and linked together to produce meaning, and understand the space-times effect that determines the type of agency to connect victims and readers. Thereby, the researcher can analyse the ways in which news reporting invites readers to care for and act on the suffering of others (Chouliaraki, 2008 (b); *Ibid.*, p.93).

Difference is the substance upon which texts are produced, through which the reality is perceived. There are two types of differences that traverse the production of texts: "difference within the semiotic and difference outside the semiotic" (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 2004, p.151-153).

Multimodal analysis enables the researcher to focus his/her investigation into the dissimilarities inherited in the meaning making process of the distant suffering in the media in terms of articulating the visual and text in the media materials. This is done because meaning making becomes apparent through a dual capacity constructed by both

visual and text – this is hypermediacy (Chouliaraki, 2006, p.71). Multimodal analysis treats ‘discourse’ as characteristically multimodal, not monomodal, and therefore endeavours to understand all aspects of how people communicate (Scollon and Levine, 2004, p.3).

On the other hand, CDA facilitates the analysis of the dissimilarities that exist external to the meaning making process in the media involving the actors of distant suffering such as victims, perpetrators and benefactors. Analysing the communication of the distant suffering through these actors enables to identify pain, pity, feelings and wishes, with regard to the formation of immediate reality or immediacy (Chouliaraki, 2006, p.71).

In a nutshell, using the multimodal analysis a researcher scrutinises the visual and text meaning-making. Thereby, identifies the distinct role that media play in its reporting, as to what spectators/readers feel, what they do and how they respond when watching/reading news about a human suffering. Whereas the CDA investigates the mediation between the spectator and the victim and the conditions that connect the spectators with distanced victims with a moral responsibility to act upon the suffering. The next section moves on to explain the analytical process of Multimodal analysis and CDA separately.

5.1.3.1 Multimodal Analysis Process

There are three genres that need to be taken into account in deciding the typology of news stories: 1. The mode of presentation of news text, 2. The correspondence between text and image 3. The aesthetic quality of the news text (*Ibid.*, p. 74-83)

The mode of presentation of news text is about the location where the news reporting takes place. It involves the following: location of the reporter, kind of realism that is articulated, portrayal of suffering, language usage (Narration or victim’s quotation), manifestation of appeal for compassion amongst readers, demonstration for action on suffering, engagement with the victims. The correspondence between narrative/text and image is about the aesthetic impact that can happen in the reporting. It focusses on the portrayal of suffering in different types of images, interaction between text and image and their roles, language usage (description of facts/ elements of exposition/narration) and their ‘effect’. Meanwhile, the aesthetic quality of a news story is determined by the semiotic aspects in the news story: Pamphleteering, philanthropy and sublimation (*ibid.*).

Pamphleteering triggers political condemnation amongst the spectators, who express anger against the perpetrators (centres on perpetrators). Philanthropy makes the spectators to do something in terms of providing charity and improving the victim's' condition (centres on victims). Sublimation encourages the consideration of the reasons for suffering, its moral implications and spectator's responsibility (centres on spectators/readers). Sublimation enables to understand the underlying reasons for the suffering in order to alleviate it (*Ibid.* Aaltola, 2012).

5.1.3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

CDA involves two different kinds of analysis with regard to media reporting of distance sufferings: representations and orientations. Despite the fact that they both befall concurrently in a reporting of suffering, they are treated separately in the analysis, in order to understand their manifestations in the news report (Chouliaraki, 2006, p. 85).

Representations (space–time)

In its investigation of representations, CDA emphasises on space–time of the sufferings, so that a researcher can understand the closeness between the spectator, victim and the urgency of action on the suffering. As Chouliaraki highlights, space–time analysis concentrates on how the spectators located in a safe area feel the reality of the distant victims and sense the immediacy of a suffering as well as bridge the space between them and the victims. The space–time analysis of a chronotope of suffering involves four characteristics in terms of the context of the suffering: concreteness, multiplicity, specificity and mobility. Scrutinising these characteristics help to evaluate the extent to which a news report creates a persuasive communication to make readers feel cosmopolitan by the moral closeness with the victims. Concreteness depicts the suffering in the context of concrete physical space; whereas Multiplicity offers spectators with multiple physical contexts of suffering. Specificity shows sufferings as unique by providing details of specific locations and person(s). By linking the conditions of the danger zone and safety zone, mobility tends to establish a “relationship of action” amongst the readers and victims (*Ibid.*, p.85-87) .

Orientations (Agency)

For Chouliaraki, the ability of the news reports to invite the readers/spectators regarding a suffering, relies on how they humanise the suffering that creates pity for readers to have ‘capacity to act’ (agency) (*Ibid.*, p.88).

Agency role is weighed in two ways of presenting the suffering: agora and theatre. Agora is about how the humanisation of the victims (through text and image) bestows power to the victims in the news reports, so that they can tempt the readers to speak and act on their suffering. Agora depends on how the readers see the suffering without any bias and prejudices to understand the misfortune that the victims express.

On the other hand, in the theatrical articulation, emotion functions as the gateway to witness the sufferings - in other words, understanding of the distance suffering is mediated by the social relationships. The agency in the news report is galvanised by the role of the benefactor and persecutor (symbolic figures) who communicate the reality of distant suffering by inviting the readers to feel for and identify (Chouliaraki, 2008b, p.223-224; *ibid.*, p.88-90).

Typology of News Stories

By studying the news reports of the distant suffering in the light of the multimodal discourse analysis, Chouliaraki identifies three categories of news stories, which she terms typology of news stories: *adventure*, *emergency*, and *ecstatic*, in which the obligation of the spectators to realise, feel and react are embedded. The actions of these three forms of news stories are informed by two broad ethical norms: communitarianism and cosmopolitanism. Process of communitarianism influences the spectator/readers to respond to the suffering that is relevant and proximate to the community to which the spectator imagines themselves to belong. Conversely, cosmopolitanism influences the spectator to respond to the suffering on behalf of 'others' who are not readily identifiable as part of their own communities (Chouliariaki, 2006 and 2008).

As Cottle (2009a) illustrates, these three sub genres enact and condition the *mediated ethics care*. It is these different forms of news stories that shape the 'regimes of pity' to create a sense of obligation among the spectators, towards responses.

As Chouliaraki explains, adventure news is characterised as simple news stories that limit the emotional and moral responses of a viewed suffering. They comprise descriptive narratives that register facts; they are based on singular space-times that limit the immediacy between the readers and victims (by presenting the event as a disconnected and

random singularity, without anecdotes or aftermath). Adventure news fails to construct agency which in turn prevents action on the suffering (2006, p.97-98).

Emergency News, unlike adventure news, produces pity through the construction of categories of the realism of distant suffering by articulating complicated narratives, and thus creates agency for spectators to discern, and therefore possibly to act, on the basis of a sense of obligation to those who are depicted as suffering. The categories of realism that the readers crave out of emergency news are primarily divided into three: perceptual, categorical and ideological (*Ibid.*, p.119; Cottle, 2009a , p 136).

Perceptual realism: Objective witnessing of a distant suffering that involves in ‘real’ space and time. Categorical realism is emotionally powerful. The spectator’s sense of omnipresence such as threat of natural disasters, starvation and endemic (emotionally powerful). Ideological realism goes parallel to the categorical realism. It arises out of the historical understanding of humanity of distance suffering, and thus being emotionally powerful it induces the readers to take side with justice in the context of ideological dilemma (Chouliaraki, 2006, p.127- 139; Chouliaraki, 2007, p.218- 219).

There are three different types of link between the distance suffering and image-text presentation, which construct unique meaning to determine the kind of realism mentioned above: indexical, iconic and symbolic meaning. These three types of meaning do not necessarily have to work in isolation; they can also co-exist in the news reports. The capacity of the meaning created by these three types of meaning determine the aesthetic quality of the news reports, and thereby decide the kind of realism (Chouliaraki , 2006, *Ibid.*, p.120).

Indexical meaning is the feeling of distance suffering that is established through the principle of resemblance. In the meaning making process, an ‘uninvolved’ visual perspective and descriptive narrative (impression of objectivity) in the news reports create the knowledge of the suffering, constructs the perceptual realism. Iconic meaning creates a cause-and-effect connection of a suffering through the articulation of image and text to form categorical realism, such as images of starvation. Symbolic meaning comes about when the text and image evoke some idea or belief in an arbitrary manner in the absence of natural links between the suffering and image- text articulation. It convinces the readers of an issue as if it was a ‘universal’ truth in the context of ideological influence to construct ideological realism (*Ibid.*, p. 127-139).

As far as the study of Chouliaraki's distance suffering is concerned, she has articulated the 'typology of news stories' with reference to the television coverage of particularly the distance sufferings. Distinctively, the *ecstatic* news category is all about the analysis of the live video coverage of the events. But, the empirical work of this study is on media content, which focuses on the newspapers' coverage of the Sri Lankan crisis, and therefore it raises a question as to what extent the 'typology of news stories' can be applied in the case of the newspapers. Yet, a careful scrutiny of the features of the typology of news stories insinuates that categories of *emergency* and *adventure* can be adapted to the analysis of newspaper reporting by commenting on relevant features of newspaper layout that signal various degrees of urgency and proximity, in line with the two categories: for instance, incidents recorded through a few lines in the inside sections of the paper would count as adventure (sometimes, distant incidents simply appear through captioned photos: no context or explanation, just an aestheticisation of the event reported because of its visual value). Meanwhile, incidents that are covered in full on the frontpage or front page secondary reports with a small picture and some linguistic reference to the urgency or significance of the incident for a particular group of people, national or regional, can be categorised as 'emergency news'. Thus, considering the relevance of newspaper analysis, only both *adventure* and *emergency* genres were taken into consideration of the analysis.

Reading through the news reports, it was found that some of the qualities of emergency news are compromised depending on the structure of the news stories such as news layout, presentation, design, nature of images and their location in the newspaper. Hence, this study necessarily had to divide the emergency news into two categories for the analytical purpose: semi emergency and emergency. Although they both share same qualities, their possible 'effects', were influenced by the structure of the news reports in the newspapers. Refer the illustration below, which is a Multimodal Discourse Analysis matrix used to identify the typology of news stories in this study.

As in the case of the frame analysis, as illustrated above, the articulation of the multimodal discourse analysis in this study takes the form of quantitative analysis as opposed to the detailed qualitative analysis articulated by Lilli Chouliaraki in her studies of 'Distance Sufferings'. As highlighted already, this study involves the analysis of more than 1200 news stories published in 6 newspapers, thus detailed qualitative analysis of every single news story was practically impossible. This study necessarily wanted to analyse all the

news stories published in the selected newspapers during the specified period regarding a particular (Sri Lankan) humanitarian crisis in order to identify the trend, relationship, and pattern between the different variables.

The advantage of the quantitative nature of the articulation of the multimodal discourse analysis is that it enabled the researcher to scrutinise large number of news stories and analyse their discursive properties between the typology of news stories in a comparative perspective in parallel to the quantitative frame analysis. A multimodal analysis coding guide (Appendix 2) was prepared based on the communicative properties illustrated in the below multimodal discourse analysis matrix to scrutinise them in the coding manual.

Illustration 3 Multimodal Discourse Analysis of Distance Suffering

Communicative Properties		Adventure News	Semi-News	Emergency	Emergency News
Multi-Modality	Mode of presentation	1.Simple Narratives- Simple reporting of facts 2.Questions of why do not appear	1. Complicated narratives/Complicated multimodal narratives 2. Meditation of suffering gives credibility and distinct claim to reality 3.Perceptual realism-facticity 4.Categorical realism-emotion 5.Ideological realism-Justice	1. Complicated narratives/ Complicated multimodal narratives 2. Meditation of suffering gives credibility and distinct claim to reality 3.Perceptual realism-facticity 4.Categorical realism-emotion 5.Ideological realism-Justice	
	The correspondence between text and image	1.Descriptions rather than narrations 2.Visual: minimal, abstracted representations	1.Indexical meaning (perceptual realism) 2.Iconic meaning (Categorical realism) 3.Symbolic meaning (ideological realism)	1.Indexical meaning (perceptual realism) 2.Iconic meaning (Categorical realism) 3.Symbolic meaning (ideological realism)	
	The aesthetic quality of the news text	3.Aesthetic distance	1.Pamphleteering 2.Philanthropy 3.Sublimation	1.Pamphleteering 2.Philanthropy 3.Sublimation	
CDA	Space –Time (Representation)	1. Singular Space-Time: An isolated place, a one off event restricts the possibility of historicity 2. No connectivity between the suffering & spectators 3.Hierarchy of place - victims of worthy places	4 distinct chronotropic properties: 1.Concrete 2.Specific 3.Multiple 4.Mobile	4 distinct chronotropic properties: 1.Concrete 2.Specific 3.Multiple 4.Mobile	
	Agency (orientation)	1.Void of agency (Neither empathy nor denunciation, annihilation of the sufferer) 2. Lack of Agora & Theatre 3. Hierarchy of human lives- worthy/ unworthy victims (void of agents)	1.Agora (humanization of the sufferers- active sufferers) 2.Theatre (communicating the reality of distant suffering (active Persecutors & Benefactors))	1.Agora (humanization of the sufferers- active sufferers) 2.Theatre (communicating the reality of distant suffering- active Persecutors & Benefactors)	
Structure of the News Stories		1.A few lines in the front/inside sections of the paper (news in brief) 2. News reports of facts without images in the front page/ inside 3. News reports of facts with map/ graphics/file photo in the front page/ inside page 3. Captioned photos: no context or explanation, just an aestheticisation of the event reported because of its visual value 4. Editorial with strong semantic usage on dehumanisation of the suffering/ devoid of agency	1. Full & total inside page coverage/ inside lead story without images, but with strong linguistic reference to the urgency or significance of the incident for a particular group of people 2.Inside page secondary reports with a small picture and some linguistic reference to the urgency or significance of the incident for a particular group of people 3. Editorial with strong semantic usage on humanisation or action on suffering.	1.Full and total front page/lead story and cross-platform coverage with images 2. Full and total inside page coverage/ inside lead story with images 3. Front page secondary reports with big images and some linguistic reference to the urgency or significance of the incident for a particular group of people 4. Editorial with strong semantic usage on humanisation and action on suffering	
News Layout, presentation and Design					

As it can be observed in the table above, a new dimension (communicative properties), added above in the 'multimodal analysis' matrix under (semi) emergency news category is the 'complicated narratives'. As multimodal analysis is an investigation of the meaning making of the text-image articulation in the news stories, Chouliaraki used the term 'complicated multimodal narratives' to mean the visual-verbal combination. This term in the multimodal analysis was appropriate in her studies of the television news reporting of the distant suffering. Nevertheless, in many instances news stories are published without any image, but with complicated narratives in the case of newspapers, they cannot be simply ignored from the analysis. Although, on such text only news reports can be scrutinised under CDA it was found convenient to study them along with the news reports published with images for the analytical convenience. This is why, a communicative property 'complicated narratives' was added in the mode of presentation in the multimodal analysis matrix, to scrutinise the text only news stories, so that it enables the researcher to scrutinise all the news stories under the analytical guidelines of mode of presentation. Moreover, the text only news stories were treated as 'Not Applicable' under the second genre of the multimodal analysis: the correspondence between narrative/text and image.

5.2 Second Phase: Interview

The second stage of the research process played a supplementary role to strengthen the finding of the content analysis by answering the research question on the factors that determined/ influenced the reporting of the journalists including the challenges confronted by them in the course of their reporting of the Sri Lankan crisis.

This study necessarily had to interview the journalists to clarify some of the research implications that were derived in the content analysis. For example, it was assumed in the content analysis that the editorial position of the newspapers to a great extent influenced the reporting of the news production of the Indian journalists. Hence, it was important to interview the journalists to clarify this finding.

Interview techniques are very useful to elicit information from people, where there is a situation in which information gathering is impossible by observation. Face-to-face and by self-administered questionnaire are the two commonly used interview methods and both methods were used in this study (Berger, 2000). The researcher used a set of open-ended questionnaires to interview the journalists face to face. However, the same questionnaire was used to interview the journalists who were not able to be interviewed face to face.

The main reason why both methods were used to interview the journalists was because, the researcher was able to travel to India and interview the journalists who worked for the Indian newspapers. Almost all the correspondents who have been to Sri Lanka to cover the war were available for Interview in India. Nevertheless, the journalists who worked for the other international media including the selected newspapers during humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka are currently living in various parts of the world. Therefore, it was impossible for the researcher to travel to various countries to interview these journalists and this seemed as an expensive option.

The scope of this study required the researcher to interview the journalists who have been to Sri Lanka to report the humanitarian crisis in 2009. The researcher had to analyse how exactly the structural, institutional and social conditions controlled and influenced their reporting and how they operated and what the consequences were. Although, the purpose was to analyse the factors that affected the news reporting of the foreign correspondents of the selected six newspapers in this study, in order to get a broader perspective, foreign correspondents to Sri Lanka from other media institutions were also interviewed. Moreover, in order to understand the historical account of the challenges of war reporting in Sri Lanka, not only the foreign correspondents who have been to Sri Lanka to report the humanitarian crisis, but also the foreign correspondents who have been to Sri Lanka before and after the crisis were interviewed.

A disadvantage experienced in using the online self-administered questionnaire and that was the lack of direct interaction between the interviewer and interviewees. This caused difficulties in clarifying ambiguities and areas of confusion in the questionnaire and made it difficult to follow up on unclear and incomplete answers to the questions. However, the researcher attempted to rectify this shortfall by using communication facilities such as email, telephone, Viber, Whatsapp and Skype. The questionnaire had already been sent to them in some cases of the interviews through Viber, Whatsapp and Skype.

Sampling Type

Interviewees were chosen by non-random sampling method. Because only a handful of foreign journalists had gone to Sri Lanka during the war to report the crisis. Therefore, journalists who have been to Sri Lanka to report the crisis were deliberately contacted for interview (Deacon et al., 2007).

There is another sampling category within the non-random sampling called “theoretical sampling”; this is a method does not attempt to be representative. In this sampling, the researcher looks for interviewees who are appropriate for the study to develop theoretical knowledge, suggestions and expert advice and ideas. The sample size of the theoretical sample is determined during the course of the interview process. The researcher stops interviewing people when he/she realises that nothing new is emerging from the interviews and when new interviewees start duplicating the information that were already given. This is called the “saturation point” of theoretical sampling (*Ibid.*, p.54).

As it will be explained in the impending section, theoretical sampling is a central aspect of the grounded theory method and is essential to the generation and demonstration of a theory that is “grounded” in data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.45–48).

In line with the theoretical sampling of the grounded theory analysis, 15 journalists from various countries were interviewed. There were two reasons why the researcher was unable to interview more than 15 journalists. First, more people could not be interviewed. This is not because the researcher could not interview more journalists but because some of the journalists identified given the criteria were reluctant to be interviewed. Some of the identified journalists either refused or ignored the request to participate in the interview. Secondly, the criteria set out to select the journalists necessarily limited the number of journalists, as only a limited number of journalists, who have been to Sri Lanka to cover the crisis were identified.

Sample details of Journalists

Ravi Nessman (AP)

Jerome Taylor (The Independent)

Taylor Dibbert (Freelance journalist and consultant. Previously, Taylor worked for human rights organizations in Sri Lanka and Zimbabwe)

Ben Doherty (The Guardian -Australia)

Emanuel Stoakes (Freelance)

Muralidhar Reddy (The Hindu)

Nirupama Subramanian (The Hindu/ Indian Express)

K Venkatramanan (The Times of India)

VS Sambandan (The Hindu)

R.K Radhakrishnan (The Hindu/Frontline)

Murari (Deccan chronicle)

Johan Mikaelsson (Sweden)

Francis Harrison (BBC)

Callum Macrae (Channel 4)

P.K. Balachandran (The Hindustan Times)

Grounded theory was used to analyse the interview data, due its relevance and relation.

5.2.1 Grounded Theory (GT)

Grounded Theory is a convenient qualitative technique to study the issues of social nature. It focuses on contextual explanations rather than concentrating on description. Glaser and Strauss first introduced the GT methodology in 1967. They stated that “theory is derived from data and illustrated by characteristic examples of data” (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.5).

Strauss and Corbin in 1990 described GT as a “scientific method” as its procedures are designed so that they can be carefully carried out. It is not just abstract theorising; the *theory* needs to be *grounded* or rooted in observation. Hence a group of people can be “observed” from the material they provide about their work concerning the research issue (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p.27).

The procedures adopted in the GT analysis was based on Glaser’s method and consist of five stages (Glaser, 1978). They are: Preparation, Data Collection, Analysis, Memoing, Sorting and Theoretical Outline. Each of these will be discussed in turn.

1. *Preparation*: Despite Glaser’s emphasis on not entering into the research with preconceived ideas, the findings of the content analysis was used to design the open-ended questionnaire for the GT, because the purpose of the interviews were to necessarily clarify some of the findings in the content analysis as well as to scrutinise the challenges that confronted journalists in the course of their reporting. Moreover, the 3rd research question that was answered in chapter 8 is not an independent question, instead a question which is very much connected to the previous 6 questions which were answered in the content analysis. With this basic understanding of the investigative process of the GT was expected to begin with the insights generated in chapter 6 and 7 as well as the literature review on

the problems of conventional journalism in chapter 3 and the nexus between HRJ and R2P in chapter 4.

Proponents of GT, such as Glaser, Strauss and Corbin, want to avoid a literature review as much as possible in order to minimise the distortion of emergent categories in the GT process. According to them, a comprehensive literature review prior to the application of grounded theory leads to the manipulation of the reviewed data to support existing theory and findings (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Ng and Hase, 2008, p, 159).

Nevertheless, there have also been arguments to put forwarded in favour of using a literature review in a GT application regarding the research problem. Ng and Hase cite the quote by Schreiber and Stern who state that “plunging into the field research without delving into the relevant literature would be folly” (*ibid*, p.159.). Glaser and Strauss in their 1967 publication underline the merits of analysing the past research of a study. They write, “We shall detail some procedures for using various qualitative sources, alone and in combination, to generate a theory effectively through comparative analysis” (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.163).

Therefore, two important steps taken in the preparation process of the grounded theory analysis are as follows: a relevant literature review; and findings of content analysis.

2. *Data Collection*: The preferred method of data collection was the interview and “theoretical sampling” which was used to determine the sample size of the data. According to Glaser and Strauss, both qualitative and quantitative data can be used in the process (*ibid.*, p.18).

The application of GT in this study was primarily based on qualitative data of the open-ended questionnaire interviews. However, the insights and perspectives derived from the content analysis were used in the initial analysis of the GT, which determined where to go and what to look for next in data collection and analysis (Corbin and Strauss, 1990, p.5–6). For example, it was illuminated in the content analysis in chapter 6 that the practice of HRJ was affected by the ‘two dimensional framing process’ conditioned by the editorial policy and the news sources, and as a result, how the Indian newspapers, practiced more HWJ news stories, and how the UK and US newspapers practiced HRJ to a considerable extent. It was important in this study to further prove this finding from the testimonials of the

journalists, particularly from the Indian journalists who covered the final war in Sri Lanka. Moreover, it was assumed in chapter 6 that the Indian newspapers, particularly *The Hindu* had an exceptional access to the war zone, and it was underlined the necessity of testing this hypothesis from the correspondent who covered the crisis for *The Hindu*.

As elaborated earlier, the sampling procedures of the grounded theory is called “theoretical sampling”, which is different from the methods used in quantitative analysis. The purpose here is that a researcher collects data, until enough has been collected to form a theoretical perspective (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p.176–193; Corbin and Strauss, 1990, p.8). Although enough data was collected from the 15 interviews, the researcher found it extremely difficult to identify foreign correspondents who have been to Sri Lanka during the war or during the final phase of the war or in the immediate post-war period. Among the 22 journalists identified, only 15 journalists responded. Repeated attempts to convince the rest of the 7 journalists were unsuccessful.

3. *Analysis*: The conceptualisation of the gathered data was carried out through a “Constant Comparative Analysis”, which is a key technique in the coding analysis process (Boychuk and Morgan, 2004). The three coding process, open, axial and selective, as advocated by Strauss and Corbin, were integrated into the analysis while creating a space to allow the data to reveal the theory. Open coding enables to segregate the data into phenomena, in order to identify sub-categories and categories, while axial coding facilitates the researcher to relate categories to their sub-categories. Selective coding enables to construct the theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, p.123- 143).

The coding process enabled to identify the categories under which the interview data was allowed to expose the theory in the findings and analysis in chapter 6 and 7. Meanwhile, the segregated data in line with the evolved categories were scrutinised and elucidated. During open and axial coding, the data gathered through interviews were broken down into small incidents or phenomena, and then the identified phenomena were grouped into sub-categories (see the coding Illustration 5 in chapter 8).

The integration of the categories into a theory, enabled to formalise a substantive theory at a more general conceptual level during selective coding (Glaser, 1998, p.136; Corbin and Strauss, 1990, p.8). For example, during the GT analysis of the interview data of the journalists, the categories and the sub-categories identified were integrated through the

constant comparative analysis by means of the identification of the following two substantive theories on the understanding of viability of HRJ: 1. The news source (s) is independently conditioned by the actors involved in a conflict/crisis/ war 2. The frame is mediated between the editorial policy and the ‘conditioned news sources’.

4. *Memoing*: Writing theoretical memos was an important part of this analysis; it was a method used to overcome certain practical difficulties that was experienced in the study. It was difficult in particular to keep track of all the categories and properties evolving through the analysis. However, the memoing technique enabled to theorise about the ideas of the researcher and connect them together (Corbin and Strauss, 1990 (b), p.10). Memoing was done by continually noting the theoretical ideas that occurred during the coding to summarise the emerging themes.

5. *Sorting and Theoretical Outline*: The ideas and insights that were noted in the memos were conceptualised into an outline of the emergent theory reflecting the connections and the relevance between concepts. This procedure required more memo writing in several instances and more data collection in a few instances during the analysis process.

The coding for GT is illustrated in chapter 8.

5.3 Limitations of the Study

This study would have been more valid and the outcome would have been further better, if I had been able to interview all the journalists who worked for the other international medias’ including the selected newspapers during the humanitarian crisis that took place between 8 September 2008 and 19 May 2009 in Sri Lanka.

As acknowledged above, I could not interview all the journalists face to face, and as a result some of them were interviewed through self-administered open ended questionnaires, this caused some difficulties in clarifying some of the information. Furthermore, Social cues, such as voice, intonation and body language of the interviewees in general could have given me a lot of extra information that could have been added to the verbal answers of the participants of my study whenever I asked a question. A face to face interview would have definitely been valuable for me to gather more details as I would have been able to find out the attitude of the interviewee as all my participants were expertise of the subject that I was exploring about. However, in my study having a face to

face interview was not possible due the reasons discussed in the chapters, thus I was not able to observe the social cues.

It is no doubt that this study would have been more informative if more examples had been included referring to the newspaper articles for every specific findings and insights. This could not be done due to the words limitation. On the other hand, with regard to the calculations, I was not able to develop graphs for all the tables, as there were multiple variables, and having included that would cause difficulty in understanding the concept as well as would be difficult to highlight it.

One potential ethical challenge in this research was to negotiate an academic distance from a topic to which I am emotionally attached as I am a Sri Lankan Tamil and have worked as a journalist in Sri Lanka. Therefore, it was important for me to keep a political, personal and emotional distance between myself and my research work and did not allow myself to be influenced by my personal or political feelings and beliefs in favour of or against any selected newspapers and interviews with journalists. To avoid this ethical challenge, research methods carried out in a scientific way as much as possible. For example, the articulation of the Glaserian School of GT with its requirement of theoretical sensitivity, helped to overcome the possible ethical challenge conflict with regard to the interviews with the journalists. Moreover, much of the background information regarding the humanitarian crisis was referred to the reports published by the UN.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter explained how the two dimensional methodology of content analysis and interviews articulated in this study to address the 3 secondary research questions to answer the primary research question. The first phase of the analysis articulated the content analysis in which Frame Analysis and Multimodal Discourse Analysis were incorporated to examine the news stories published in the 6 news newspapers with the view to answer the first two research questions. The integration of the framing matrix to use the qualitative research method ‘frame analysis’ in terms of quantitative manner as well as to use the qualitative research method ‘multimodal discourse analysis’ were a pioneering idea in assessing the media coverage of distant suffering and humanitarian crisis. The second phase of the analysis primarily involved interviews with the foreign correspondents, who have been to Sri Lanka to cover the humanitarian crisis which answers the 3rd research

question. The interviews were conducted having face to face interviews and self-administered open ended questionnaires.

Chapter 6: Representation of the Sri Lankan Humanitarian Crisis in the International Press

6.0 Introduction

The discussion of chapter 4 involved a number of theoretical perspectives to demonstrate how the critical constructivist epistemology provides a promising framework for the theory of HRJ to function as a 'rights based approach'. Having highlighted the potential 'power' the HRJ holds over its various levels of audience, the discussion also identified a number of factors such as the access to media and information that influence the production and impact of this 'power' through discourse practices. In this context it was hypothesised that the application of the R2P in Sri Lanka was largely likely to be subjected to the influence of the level of the construction of the reality of the humanitarian crisis created by the international media.

In addition, consistently throughout chapter 4, it was explained how the approach that the HRJ advocates has great potential of facilitating the application of the R2P. It is for this reason that it was decided to examine the level of the practice of the HRJ in the news coverage of the humanitarian crisis of Sri Lanka in the international newspapers, so that it would reveal the level and kind of knowledge of the distance suffering constructed out of the discourse production in these newspapers. This, in turn, is a revelation of the construction of the reality of the humanitarian crisis exposed by the international newspapers, to weigh the kind of power that would have been produced to encourage international intervention (R2P).

It was under this theoretical context that the research questions of this study emerged, and as explained in chapter 5, they required two independent yet mutually supportive methodologies to uncover the answers: 1. Content analysis integrated with frame analysis and multimodal discourse analysis 2. Face to face interviews with journalists. Chapter 5 also illustrated in detail how the processes of data collection and analysis were approached for each method.

This chapter and the next are dedicated to the examination of news stories published in the newspapers through the content analysis framework integrated with 'frame analysis matrix' and 'multimodal discourse analysis matrix', along with other variables, such as

type of news stories, section of the newspaper, number of pictures, their nature and size, type of coverage, news sources, north worthy incidents etc.

The focus of the content analysis in this research endeavours to answer the first two research questions identified in this study. Nevertheless, as it will be explained throughout the discussion of these chapters, some of the findings of the content analysis are subjected to further scrutiny in the subsequent chapter, which deals with the analysis of interviews conducted with journalists.

For analytical convenience as well as to build a better understanding of the analysis of the findings of the content analysis, this chapter deals with the following 1st research question:

How and to what extent the human rights violations and suffering of the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka were reported in the international newspapers?

The following four different but interconnected scrutiny of the news coverage were used to answer this 1st research question, and accordingly this chapter has been divided into 4 sections:

1. The extent to which the international newspapers covered the final war in Sri Lanka
2. The sources mentioned or quoted in the news published in the newspapers
3. The extent to which the media reported some of the important incidents related to the violation of human rights and its sufferings.
4. The extent to which frames of HRJ were expressed in the reporting.

This 6th chapter is based on numerous calculation of the analysis gathered from the content analysis, and the references often made between the results and the tables, discussion of the findings and the results, is simultaneously articulated wherever required and appropriate.

6.1 Attention of the Newspapers towards the Humanitarian Crisis

The table 1 shows the extent to which the six newspapers, *The Times*, *The Independent*, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Hindu* and *The Times of India* covered the final war in Sri Lanka between 8 September 2008 and 20 May 2009.

Table 1 shows the number of types of article against all published news. The total number of news reports published in these newspapers includes both the on-going war and other war related news, such as demonstrations and protests outside the war zone, arrests and cordon off, statements of politicians related to war etc.

Table 1 Type of Articles vs. All Published News

"Type of Articles" vs. "All published news"						
Type of Article	The Independnet	The Times	The New York Times	The Washington Post	The Times of India	The Hindu
News Report	23	48	35	10	225	751
Editorial	4	5	2	2	7	12
Column	12	5	2	2	9	11
News Feature	18	1	10	13	10	4
cartoon/illustration	0	0	0	0	0	5
letter	2	3	0	0	0	0
weekly news summary	0	0	0	0	0	0
'News in brief'	1	13	9	37	0	0
Total (War News + War Related)	46+14=60	64+11=75	53+4=57	54+10=64	136+115=251	272+511= 783

Figure 1 Type of Articles vs. All Published News

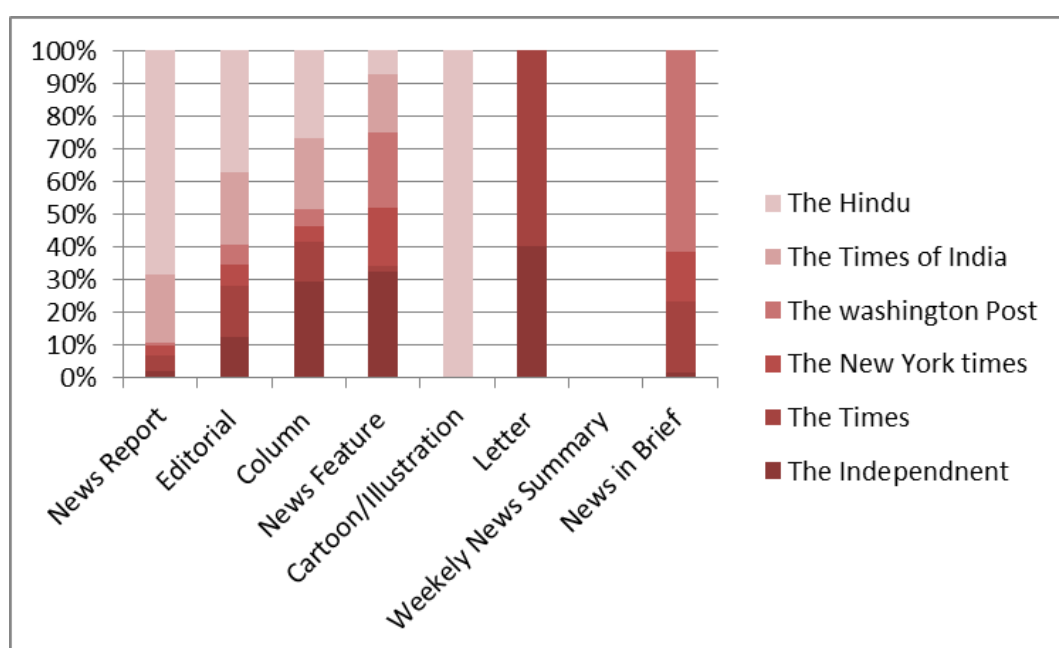


Table 1 shows the sharp quantitative variances between the newspapers in their coverage of the war. Among all six newspapers *The Hindu* newspaper extensively covered the war compared to other newspapers. *The Times of India* next to *The Hindu* in terms of news coverage, while there is not much variance among other newspapers such as *The Independent*, *The Times*, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*: 60, 75, 57 and 64. These statistics reveal a fact that in terms of geographical location, the newspapers based in India, *The Times of India* and *The Hindu* have shown much interest in the final war that took place in Sri Lanka. This tendency is reflected perhaps due to the geographical proximity and the geopolitics associated with the war in Sri Lanka.

As observed in chapter 4, Galtung and Ruge's (1965) news value of cultural proximity or familiarity as well as Herman and Chomsky's explanation of 'anti-ideology filter' (1988) are better suited to explain the reason for this discrepancy between the Indian newspapers and the US/ UK newspapers in the number of the news coverage.

As observed in chapter 4, Galtung and Ruge believed that our perception of what constitutes an event is culturally determined and not a natural occurrence. But they also believed that it related to 'human culture' and therefore should not vary too much globally. They put forward a system of twelve factors describing events that together are used as a definition of 'newsworthiness'. As far as the UK and the US newspapers are concerned, the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka satisfies only the following two news values out the twelve news values:

1. Negativity: Bad news is more newsworthy than good news
2. Continuity: A story that is already in the news gathers a kind of inertia.

Although, what happened in Sri Lanka was bad news, as far as the UK and the US newspapers are concerned, this bad news did not qualify other 10 news values, and thus possibly would have made these newspapers to ignore the crisis. Moreover, although there was 'continuity' as the Sri Lankan war had been taking place for more than three decades and the final phase of the war, which was subjected to the analysis of this thesis had started in August 2006, none of the selected newspapers had their permanent correspondents stationed in Sri Lanka to cover the war process. As it will be elaborated later in this chapter, whenever the violence peaked, these newspapers sent their journalists to cover the incidents. This is accentuated by the constrained caused by economic considerations. As Hanitzsch emphasises, the war reporting of mainstream news media to a greater extent is constrained by economic considerations (Hanitzsch, 2007b, p.5). Perhaps, this is the reason why the US and the UK newspapers to a larger extent ignored the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka.

Meanwhile, for Indian newspapers, the news reporting of the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka was probably essential, as India is a neighbouring country and a country that has actively been involved in the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. This is one of the news values listed by Galtung and Ruge (1965) as 'meaningfulness' for an incident/ issue to become news in a media institution. As it will be explained in detail later in this chapter, as far as

the Indian newspapers are concerned, there is a significant number of Tamil population living across India and one of the states in India 'Tamil Nadu' is almost exclusively of Tamils. Moreover, one of the newspapers selected for this study *The Hindu* has its headquarters in Tamil Nadu. This creates a cultural proximity concerning the humanitarian crisis that took place in the Tamils living province of Sri Lanka. As Galtung and Ruge explain, stories concerned with people, who speak the same language, look the same, and share the same preoccupations as the audience receive more coverage than those concerned with people who speak different languages, look different and have different preoccupations. In other words, this cultural proximity goes parallel to what Herman and Chomsky (1988) explained as five general 'filters' in their propaganda theory. The last filter of the propaganda model is 'anti-ideology filter', and as Herman and Chomsky explain, this filter takes advantage of public's fear to produce a story about groups, individuals, ideas that will damage the image of the country. In addition to these two reasons, the Indian newspapers also qualify Galtung and Ruge's news values of negativity and continuity, as explained above.

Against this theoretical backdrop, during these eight months period between 8 September 2008 and 20 May 2009, the humanitarian crisis was so severe, and as described by the UN internal review report, unimaginable human rights violations were committed. The number of civilian casualties within a few weeks in 2009 reached over 70,000 (UN internal review report, 2012). Public, trapped inside the schools and places of worship were indiscriminately bombarded and hospitals and dwellings destroyed with no access to any humanitarian aid (UNSG panel of experts, 2011). Both sides were accused of committing serious war crimes, crimes against humanity and other violent crimes. As discussed in chapter 4, in the emerging cosmopolitan world order, the international media should have demonstrated a global crisis reporting and represented victims of violence. Being part of global voice they should have made the audience to feel the sufferings of these victims and feel obliged to care for them. However, as revealed in the calculation of the news coverage of *The Independent*, *The Times*, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, the total number of news reports published during this eight months period clearly shows the lack of attention, priority and sympathy of these newspapers with regard to this humanitarian crisis. Conversely, the Indian newspapers, in terms of number, gave importance to this humanitarian crisis and covered them extensively. Nevertheless, regardless of the number of the news coverage, whether these newspapers practiced human

rights journalism and contributed to protect and promote human rights is yet to be uncovered in this thesis.

On the other hand, as the Table 1 shows, the coverage of the other war related news, such as the anti- war demonstrations, hunger strikes, political condemnation against the war which occurred in foreign countries such as in India, UK, US and European Countries, is much higher in the Indian newspapers. This is because the Tamils in Sri Lanka and Tamil Nadu (Tamils living state in India) have umbilical relationship, and there was a higher level of political activism demonstrated by the Tamil political parties, human rights organisations, pro Eelam Tamil organisations, lawyers and students against the war and demanding the Indian government to intervene to stop the war. In this context, these incidents and activities were considered newsworthy for the Indian newspapers.

The tables 2- 4 further provide insights into the importance and priority given by these newspapers regarding the Sri Lankan crisis, by detailing how these news items were published in the newspapers according to the sections of the newspapers; whether they were published with photos; how many photos were related to the ongoing war; type of coverage such as whether they were Embedded/ spot, Distant coverage (stationed in Sri Lanka, but not in war zone); Distant coverage (stationed abroad) or Agency story.

Table 2 Sections of Newspaper vs. All Published News

"Sections of Newspaper" vs. "All published news"						
Section of Newspaper	The Independent	The Times	The New York times	The washington Post	The Times of India	The Hindu
Lead story 1 st page	2	2	2	0	3	53
Sub story 1 st page	0	2	0	3	22	99
Inside lead story	27	31	21	17	58	145
Inside sub story	31	39	33	44	168	484
Op-ed	0	0	1	0	0	2

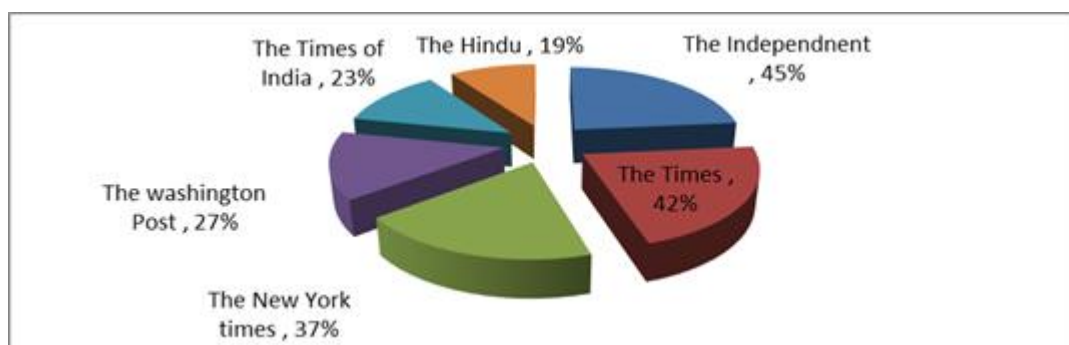
As Table 2 discloses, only *The Hindu* newspaper published a significant number of news stories in its front page. Out of its 783 news items published during the eight months period, 53 are lead stories and 99 are sub stories published in the front page. *The Hindu* had also published 145 lead stories in its inside pages. These figures show how much of importance and priority *The Hindu* newspaper had given to the coverage of the Sri Lankan crisis. Meanwhile, none of the other newspapers published more than 3 lead stories in their front pages. The total number of lead stories published by *The Independent* during the 8 months period of the worst humanitarian crisis was just 2. This is almost the case with other UK and US newspapers such as *The Times*, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*: 4, 2, and 3. Relatively *The Times of India* published higher number of

news stories in its front page, 25. Almost the same trend is observed with regard to the sub stories published in the front page of these newspapers.

Nevertheless, as shown in Table 2, compared to the Indian newspapers, the UK and the US newspapers published more prominent stories (opinion/news feature) in their inside pages (see Figure 2): The Independent - 27 (45%); The Times - 31 (42%); The New York Times - 21 (37%); *The Washington Post* - 17 (27%); *The Times of India* - 58 (23%) and *The Hindu* - 145 (19%).

This shows that although the Indian newspapers published more lead stories and sub stories in their front pages compared to the US and the UK newspapers, they published small number of prominent stories (opinion/ News feature) in their inside pages.

Figure 2 % of prominent stories (opinion/news feature) published in inside pages



Nevertheless, if there was any reason why the Indian newspapers published more lead stories and sub stories, and what kind of stories they were, is yet to be revealed. In addition, whether these newspapers performed poor level of HRJ in their coverage given the low level of news stories published throughout the period/ low level of news stories published in their front page, or if not, the newspapers (Indian) performed higher level of HRJ, given the higher number of news stories and front-page news, cannot be decided. Such a decision can only be evaluated based on the qualitative aspects of the news stories such as the sources cited, number of related photos used, the type of frames used etc. This analysis will be dealt later in this chapter. However, the quantitative calculation does reveal a fact that this humanitarian disaster was not given due attention and given priority in the news coverage of the UK and the US based international newspapers. There were human rights violations that occurred every day during the final war, and hundreds of people died every day during the final phase of the war (UNSG panel of experts, 2011), however, as described above, the coverage of this crisis situation was very low *Vis a Vis*

the 8 months period of continued humanitarian disaster, which was later described by U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon called the sites "appalling", after visiting Sri Lanka just 4 days after the end of the war and flying over the site of the last battle. "I have travelled around the world and visited similar places, but this is by far the most appalling scenes I have seen," Ban told CNN (CNN, 2009).

Figure 3 Sections of Newspaper vs. All Published News

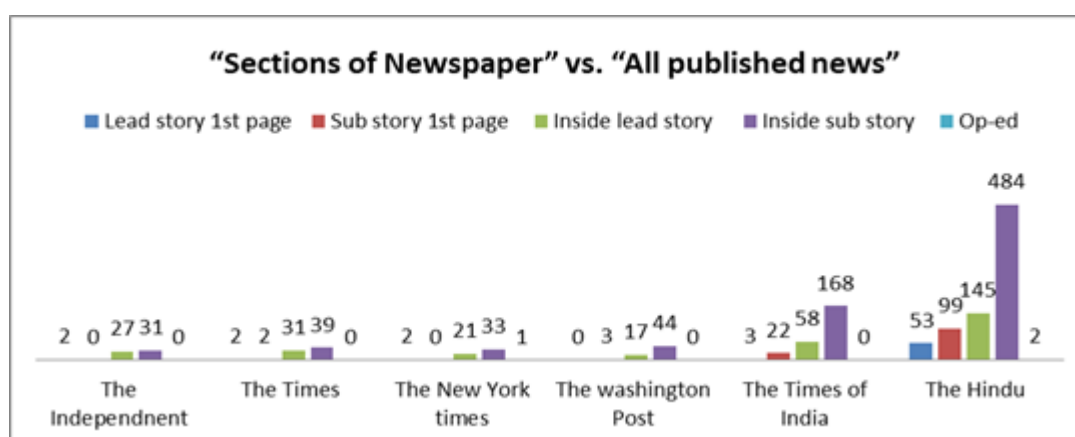


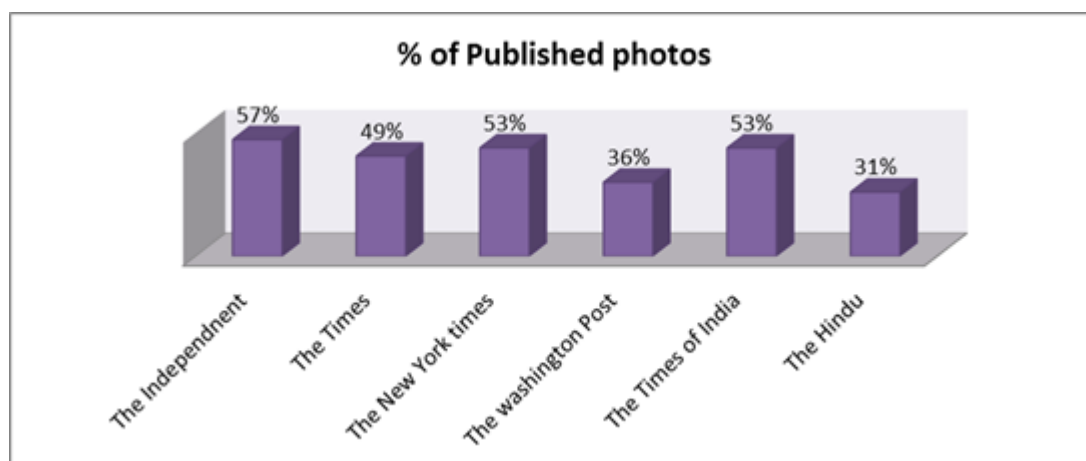
Table 1, further showed the breakdown of the type of news stories published during the period such as news report, editorial, column, news feature, cartoon/illustration, weekly news summary and News in brief. Out of the 60 stories published by *The Independent*, 23 stories are news reports, 30 stories are news features and columns, and only 2 stories are editorial. Out of the 75 stories published by *The Times*, 48 stories are news reports, 6 stories are news features and columns and 5 stories are editorial. In its total 57 stories, *The New York Times* published 35 stories, 12 news features & columns and 2 editorials. Out of its 64 stories, *The Washington Post* published 10 news stories, 15 news features & columns and 2 editorials. Interestingly, *The Washington Post* published 37 ‘News in Brief’ stories. This ‘News in Brief’ is a summary of world news in a few sentences in its inside pages. This is 58% of the total stories published in this newspaper. Some major incidents such as killings of people, attacks in no fire zone, mass exodus of refugees were also reported in this category of news story, while the same news stories were given importance in other newspapers and published distinctly. This ignorance or lack of due attention towards the distant suffering in Sri Lanka is highly seen in *The Washington Post* than any other newspapers. *The Times of India*, in its total 251 stories, published 225 news reports, 190 news features, 9 columns and 7 editorials. Out of its 783 total news stories, *The Hindu* had published 751 news reports, 4 news features, 11 columns, 5 cartoons/illustrations/graphics and 12 editorials.

Editorial is considered as the opinion of the newspaper and much more valuable than any other news stories in creating public opinion, as it stirs the conscience of the readers and influence policy makers on an issue of concern. Although in varying numbers, the scrutiny of Table 1 reveals that all the selected newspapers had written editorials on the Sri Lanka humanitarian catastrophe and this in turn indicates a fact that this situation had got the due attraction from all the selected international newspapers. Nevertheless, the lack of sustained editorial writings particularly in the US newspapers reveals their unwillingness and ignorance in shaking the conscious of the policymakers to intervene in stopping the mass atrocities. Yet, the higher number and sustained particular predisposition of editorial writings in the Indian newspapers do not mean that they performed a satisfactory role and campaigned for humanitarian intervention to stop and prevent the human rights violations. This can only be proven through further scrutiny.

Table 3 Analysis of Published Photos

Analysis of Published Photos						
Number of Pictures	The Independent	The Times	The New York times	The washington Post	The Times of India	The Hindu
Zero	26	38	28	41	116	536
One	18	18	22	12	122	235
Two	14	16	6	8	6	6
More than two	2	2	2	3	4	3
Size of the main picture						
1 Column	5	4	7	2	76	79
2 Column	10	12	4	7	49	49
3 Column	10	11	7	4	9	72
4 Column	4	8	9	6	1	40
5 Column	3	1	2	4	0	6
Nature of picture						
Current	22	32	24	19	77	143
File	10	2	1	4	52	93
Info Graphic	2	3	5	0	3	5
Cartoon	0	0	0	0	2	5

Figure 4 % of Published Photos



The breakdown of photos published in the newspapers presented in above Table 3 reveals the interest and importance given by the newspapers in publishing photos with their news stories. As discussed already in chapter 5, Lilie Chouliaraki (2006) in her analysis of distance suffering showed the power of the media to create different types of aesthetic values and trigger aid distribution, political condemnation and other forms of global response to the humanitarian crisis by publishing photos taken of the distance suffering events. Influence of the images of suffering in creating pity and empathy towards the distance suffering has been well documented from the Vietnam War to the ongoing Syrian crisis. Although, a qualitative analysis can help identify and assess the characteristics of the images and their effect, systematic quantitative scrutiny can also help evaluate if the newspapers had shown interest and taken efforts in publishing images of the sufferings in Sri Lanka.

As depicted in Table 3 shows, *The Independent* published 34 images in its total 60 stories (57%), of which most of the images are 2 and 3 column size. Out of the published 34 images, 22 of them were (then) contemporary images, 10 of them were file images and 2 of them were infographics. There is not much difference between the newspapers in terms of the images published except *The Hindu* and *The Washington Post: The Times* (49%), *The New York Times* (53%), *The Washington Post* (36%), *The Times of India* (53%), *The Hindu* (31%). The reason why *The Washington Post* published low number of images is because, as explained earlier, it published 58% of its news stories as ‘News in Brief’ with all other international news stories in one or two sentences, where there is almost impossible to publish images. However, in rare instances *The Washington Post* did publish photos with one or two lines captions in its ‘News in brief’ section. In the case of *The Hindu*, as observed earlier, it published large amount of news stories related to the political activities in Tamil Nadu, such as the statements of political leaders which do not require photos; however, in some instances, they had appeared with small file photo(s) of the relevant politicians.

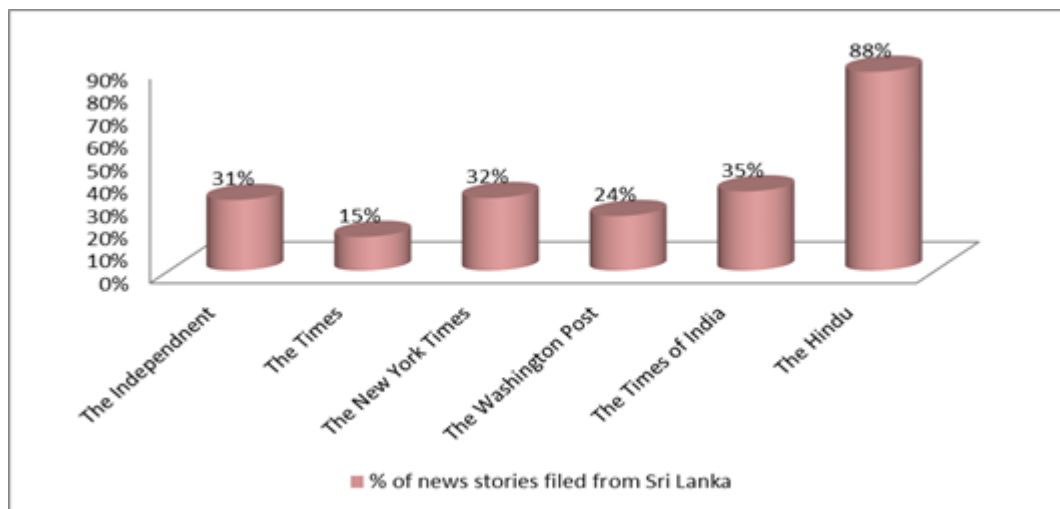
The reason why the newspapers were unable to publish images of sufferings in the war zone was due to the ban on the journalists, independent observers and humanitarian workers from entering the conflict zone (Page, 2009, p.30). The inability of the newspapers to publish the raw images of distant suffering caused by the lack of access to the war zone, affected the aesthetic quality of the news reports published in these newspapers will be analysed in the next chapter.

The breakdown of the ‘type of news coverage’ of every newspaper shown in the Table 4 below further provides insights into the reason why the newspapers were unable to publish raw images of the war.

Table 4 Type of Coverage vs. All Published News (Except Editorial)

Type of coverage vs.All published news (except editorial)						
Type of Coverage	The Independent	The Times	The New York Times	The Washington Post	The Times of India	The Hindu
Embedded/ spot	2	0	1	3	2	37
Distant coverage (stationed in Sri Lanka, but not in war zone)	13	10	17	12	52	265
Distant coverage (stationed abroad)	32	55	28	4	22	23
Agency story	1	2	10	43	78	18
Events covered in own countries	7	3	0	0	84	426

Figure 5 % of News stories filed from Sri Lanka



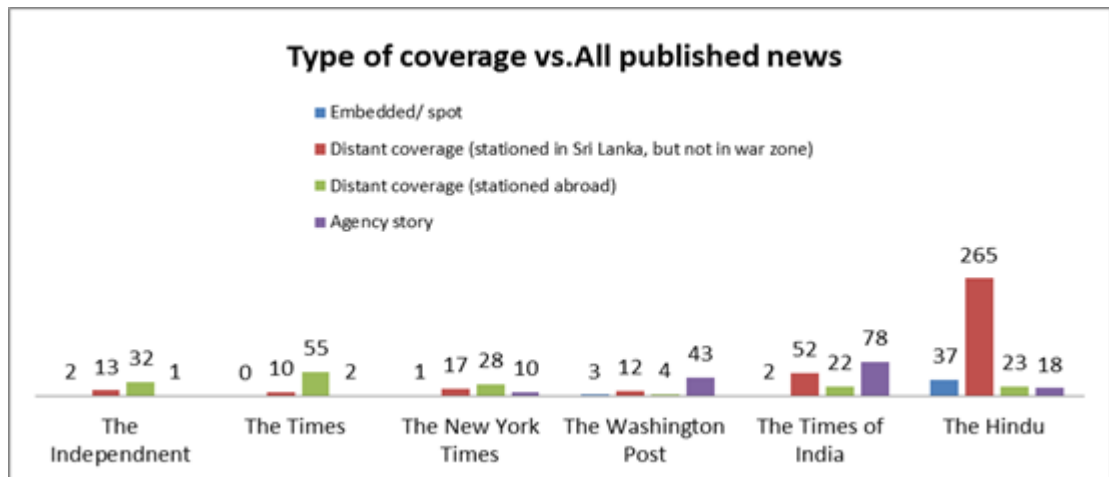
The editorial writings were not included in the above Table 4 breakdown as they are supposed to be written by the paper's editors or by one of the staffs at the newspaper in house. Except *The Hindu* newspaper, all the other newspapers contain a lower percentage or ignorable number of embedded/spot news coverage. A closer look at the articles further reveal a fact that none of these stories were classified as embedded/spot news coverage, from the war zone where the tragedy occurred. Despite this fact, a very lower number of news stories were classified as ‘embedded/spot news coverage’ in *The Independent* (2), *The Times* (0), *The New York Times* (1), *The Washington Post*(3) and *The Times of India* (2), because the correspondents who filed these stories had taken their own effort to interview the refugees who fled from the war zone to the nearest town (Vavuniya) to report what actually was going on the inside of the war zone and to hear the untold sufferings of the people. There were only two incidents where *The New York Times* on 6th December, 2008 and *The Independent* on 16th April,2009, published a news story respectively from

Vellankulam and Kilinochchi which had been just captured by the government forces from the LTTE, and the military had arranged a tour to the journalists to show these places. This revelation is a clear reflection of the impact of the ban on journalists from entering the war zone by the government. This lack of access to war zone, as it had impacted the prospects of filing news stories from the battle zone, would have certainly obstructed the opportunities for the journalists/newspapers to publish raw images of sufferings of the people and human rights violations to expose the real face of the crisis.

Interestingly, Table 4 also reveals that *The Hindu* was able to file considerable number 37 news stories from the war zone. This certainly reveals a fact that *The Hindu* had access to the war zone. How this access to the war zone was possible only for *The Hindu* is discussed in the next chapter during the analysis of the interviews conducted among the journalists who had covered the war for these newspapers from Sri Lanka. However, the revelation from Table 3 and by having a closer look at the images published in *The Hindu*, it becomes clear that *The Hindu* had failed to use its opportunity to access the war zone to publish raw images of the suffering of the people or the human rights violations by both parties, in a manner to create global compassion and awareness to draw attention of the international community. Whether this trend is seen in the news stories of *The Hindu* will be examined later in this chapter.

Not only the news stories filed from the war zone, but the number of news stories filed from Sri Lanka (stationed in Sri Lanka, but not in war zone) is also small in amount, as it can be seen in Table 4, except *The Hindu*. *The Independent* has only 31% (13 stories) of its total news stories, filed from Sri Lanka as a whole by its own correspondent(s) during the 8 months period. This figure is just 15% (10 stories) for *The Times*, 32% for *The New York Times* (17 stories), 24% (12 stories) for *The Washington Post*, 35% (52 stories) for *The Times of India* and 80% (265) for *The Hindu*. 265 stories filed from Sri Lanka published in *The Hindu* show its intense coverage and greatest interest in covering the final war in Sri Lanka. Conversely, the statistics also show the disinclination and absence of desire of these newspapers except *The Hindu* in reporting the crisis in Sri Lanka. On the other hand, as Table 4 reveals, except *The Hindu*, all the newspapers covered the Sri Lankan humanitarian crisis either from distance (stationed abroad) or through news agencies.

Figure 6 Type of coverage vs. All Published News



However, the extent to which, and the manner in which, *The Hindu* and other newspapers framed their news stories and whether these news stories featured HRJ frames are yet to be clearly established. *The Independent* covered majority of its stories from distance (stationed abroad), which is 58 % (32 news stories): *The Times* 78 % (55 stories), *The New York Times* 50 % (28), *The Washington Post* 6 % (4 stories), *The Times of India* 9% and *The Hindu* 3%. Among all the newspapers *The Times*, has the higher number of news stories/articles produced from distance. Remarkably, *The Washington Post* covered only 6% (4 stories) of its total stories from distance. This is, as evidenced in Table 4, due to higher number of news stories (70% of the total stories) obtained from news agencies. This once again shows the lack of interest shown by *The Washington Post* to report the distance suffering in Sri Lanka and being part of the global voice. *The Times of India* and *The Hindu* too have small amount of news stories of the crisis in Sri Lanka covered from a distance. In the case of *The Washington Post*, *The Times of India* too relied considerably (33%) on news agencies to report about the crisis in Sri Lanka. *The Hindu* has low number of news stories covered from distances and news agencies. This is because as observed already, it has significant amount of news stories filed by its own correspondents from Sri Lanka. According to Table 4, there is another category of news stories published in the Indian and the UK newspapers stating that they covered the secondary humanitarian crisis events and activities that took place in their countries during the 8 months period.

As mentioned earlier, the Tamil people of Tamil Nadu, India and the Sri Lankan Tamil refugees living in Tamil Nadu frequently organised demonstrations, marches and various other nonviolent forms of protests. Correspondingly at the same time, the Tamil Diaspora community staged continuous demonstrations and sit-in protest in key locations of the UK

and other countries. This was much evidenced in the UK where 300,000 Diaspora Tamils live, who staged protest in central London blocking roads around Parliament Square for several weeks demanding a ceasefire in Sri Lanka. This includes a 23-day hunger strike of a Tamil youth in a makeshift tent opposite London's Houses of Parliament, even without drinking water (The Guardian, 2009; BBC, 2009). While intensively reporting about the war in Sri Lanka, *The Hindu* equally covered the events that took place in Tamil Nadu, India. Of its total number of news stories, *The Hindu* published majority of the news stories 55% (426) covering the local events connected to the Sri Lankan war. Meanwhile, *The Times of India* published 35% (84) of its total news stories covering the local events. The UK newspapers too showed interest in covering the local events linked to the Sri Lankan crisis, but the amount of coverage was very small: *The Independent* 13% (7 news stories) and *The Times* 4% (3 stories). There was no such news relating to the local events published in the US newspapers at all.

For the Indian newspapers, the local events in Tamil Nadu connected to the Sri Lankan crisis are sensitive and politically important issues, as Tamil Nadu is the 11th biggest state in India by area and the sixth most populated state in India. This shows how the national interest relating to the crisis influenced its coverage. Meanwhile, compared to the US, the processions, pickets, demonstrations, and other forms of organised mass protests were very high in the UK extremely affecting the daily life of London and its economic activities. Compared to the UK, there were no such intensive demonstrations and activities that took place in the US, and possibly this is the reason why the US newspapers did not report any of these events.

The discussion so far provides the answer to the 1st research question: To what extent the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka was reported in the media? The numeric calculation presented in the above four tables in terms of the variables such as 'Type of Articles vs. All published news', 'Sections of Newspaper vs. All published news', 'Total number of news items with photos vs. All published news', 'Photo sizes vs. Main photo', 'Nature of pictures vs. All published news with photos', 'Type of stories vs. All published news' and 'Type of coverages vs. All published news except Editorial', reveal the fact that all newspapers except *The Hindu* did not cover the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka intensively. Although the analysis of qualitative aspects of news stories can help assess the nature of the news stories, their implied values and intent, quantitative analysis of this nature can also reveal the unwillingness or lack attention towards the newspapers of a

conflict. The very lower level number of news stories published in the US and the UK newspapers do reveal that these newspapers did not try enough to cover the distant suffering that was taking place in Sri Lanka in a manner to draw the attention of the international community.

In addition to the reasons identified above in light of Galtung and Ruge's (1965) news value of cultural proximity or familiarity as well as Herman and Chomsky's explanation of 'anti-ideology filter' (1988), it may also be a reason that the lack of access to the war zone would have significantly affected the reporting of the crisis. Yet, there could have been alternative ways that perhaps would have provided information to these newspapers. For example, given the lack of access to the war zone, the newspaper institutions could have hired or employed local journalists to provide them raw images and information of the incidents of sufferings. However, as identified already in the beginning of this chapter, budget allocation with regard to war reporting in the news value, has been identified as one of the main constraints that seriously affect the news coverage of a distance suffering, along with many structural factors, such as resources, time and access to the war zone. Whether, if this also was a determining factor that affected the coverage of the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka will be discussed in the forthcoming chapter.

The investigations thus far, conclude that in terms of the variables mentioned, the international newspaper coverage of the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka was very minimal, and did not have sufficient sources to create a powerful discourse to draw the attention of the cosmopolitan world towards the distant sufferings. Conversely, such dysfunctional reporting of the crisis would mean that the US and the UK based international newspapers, given their very small amount of news coverage, would haven't had much knowledge and information to contribute towards the reality of the direct and indirect causes of the conflict.

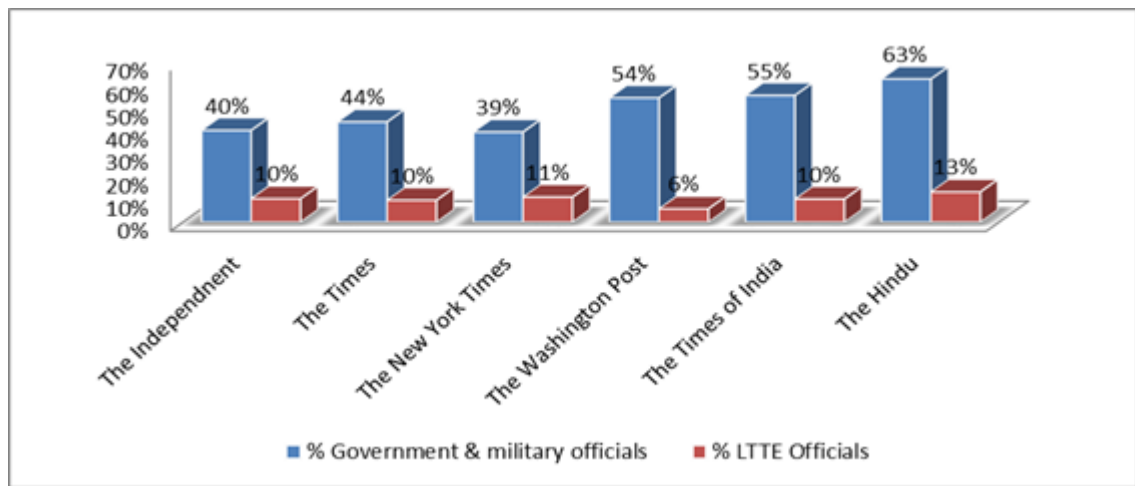
So far, the first section of this chapter focussed on the analysis of the extent to which the international newspapers reported the humanitarian crisis of Sri Lanka, in a manner to shed light on the 1st research question that was identified above. Keeping these finding in mind, the next section moves on to analyse the sources mentioned or quoted in the news stories published in the newspapers and thereby analyse their impact and consequences in the news coverage, with the view to further address this research question.

6.2 The Role of News Sources and Discourse Production

Table 5 News Sources vs. All Published News

Quoted or mentioned sources	Quoted or mentioned sources vs. All published news					
	The Independent	The Times	The New York Times	The Washington Post	The Times of India	The Hindu
None	16	19	2	7	47	129
Military Officials	22	30	27	33	74	166
Government Officials	25	34	27	23	58	199
LTTE Officials	12	14	15	6	24	77
UN/ Foreign Officials	21	31	20	9	36	73
Victims	14	15	15	17	16	19
Civil Society/NGOs/ Human Rights Groups	23	22	33	15	30	49
Indian Politician(s)	0	0	0	0	56	340

Figure 7 % of Elite News Sources



As it can be understood from the table, almost all the newspapers published quite a few news stories without quoting or mentioning any sources. However, all the newspapers produced their news stories referring to some sources, which give a picture of the propensity of the newspapers towards the information providers or the information control order that would have existed. The Table 5 above reveals a fact that all the newspapers heavily relied upon the Sri Lankan government and its military for their information to report about the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka in the wake of the overrunning of the LTTE by government forces.

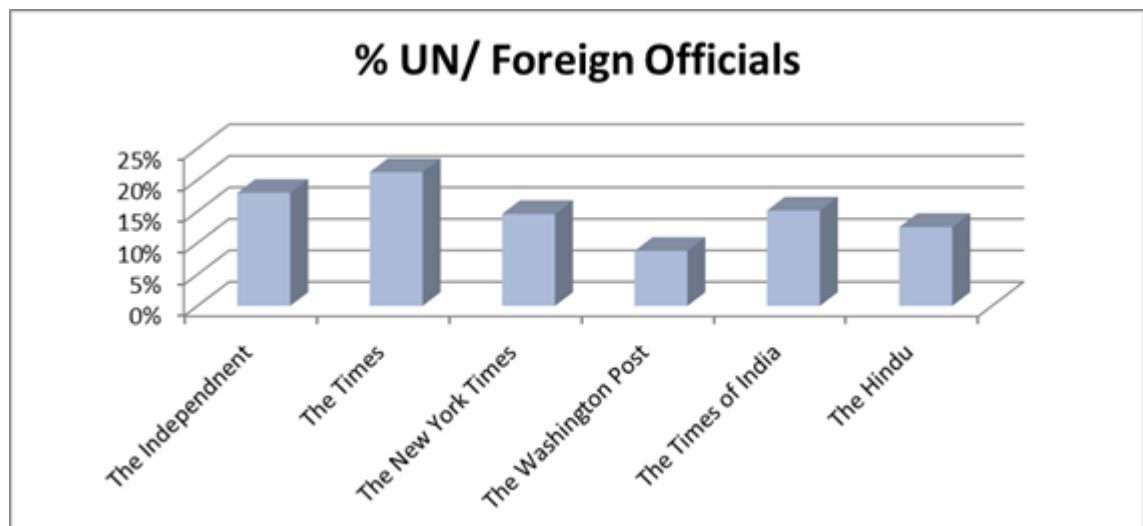
In order to avoid the effect that can occur in the exclusivity of the newspaper coverage of the crisis in Sri Lanka, the calculations in the discussion in this section as well as in the forthcoming sections exclude the number of news stories published on the local events that took place in the home countries of the newspapers and their unique variables, such as the Indian politicians in the case of the Indian newspapers. As there is considerable amount of local events reported in the Indian media and to a larger extent Indian politicians were

quoted or mentioned in these news stories, these figures would significantly impact on the distinctiveness of the newspaper coverage of the distant crisis in Sri Lanka.

In its 47 news stories, *The Independent* quoted or mentioned both the Sri Lankan government and its military. This is 40 % of its total instances of quoting or mentioning a source in its news coverage. The total number of instances where *The Independent* quoted/mentioned the LTTE officials or its proxy sources is 12, which is only 10% of its total number of instances of quoting or mentioning a news source. This is a big imbalance of the coverage of a war between the two parties. This imbalance is visible in all the newspapers. This comparison in this premise between the government officials and military officials and the LTTE officials in the other newspapers is: *The Times* 64 (44%): 14 (10%), *The New York Times* 54 (39%): 15 (11%), *The Washington Post* 56 (54%): 6 (6%), *The Times of India* 132 (55 %): 24 (10%) and *The Hindu* 365 (63%): 77 (13%). Evidently, among all the newspapers *The Hindu* had relied upon more on the Sri Lankan military and the government sources for its reporting about the crisis. The reason for this more propensity of *The Hindu* towards the government/ military sources and the reason why in general all the newspapers had relied more on the government/military sources is discussed in the next chapter.

With regard to mentioning or quoting UN/ foreign officials, *The Independent* referred 21 times, which is 18 % of its total references of its all news sources. For *The Times*, this is 31 (21%), *The New York Times* 20 (15%), *The Washington Post* 9 (9 %), *The Times of India* 36 (15%) and *The Hindu* 73 (15%).

Figure 8 % of News stories mentioned from UN/ Foreign Officials



In terms of mentioning / quoting the victims of the crisis in the news stories, *The Independent* referred victims in 14 instances in its news coverage (12%). Like *The Independent*, other newspapers too show small number of references to the victims in their stories: *The Times* 15 (10%), *The New York Times* 15 (11%), *The Washington Post* 17 (16%), *The Times of India* 16 (7%) and *The Hindu* 19 (3%). Compared to the US and the UK newspapers, this is a very low number among the Indian newspapers, particularly in *The Hindu*. As the Table 5 shows, all the newspapers have significantly mentioned/ quoted civil society organisations, NGOs/ human rights organisations in their news stories: *The Independent* 23 (20%), *The Times* 22 (15%), *The New York Times* 33 (24%), *The Washington Post* 15 (15%), *The Times of India* 30 (13%) and *The Hindu* 49 (8%). However, as in the case of mentioning/quoting the victim's, compared to other newspapers *The Hindu* shows lower number of references to the civil society organisations, NGOs/ human rights organisations in their news stories.

The discussion based on Table 5, on one end, sheds light on understanding the conditions within which the journalists had to operate would have determined the observed tendency of the newspapers towards the news sources for their stories, and on the other shows the possible editorial policy preference that would have guided the journalists to look for particular type of news source(s). A finding that all the newspapers relied on in common is that both the Sri Lankan government and the Sri Lankan military choosing what stories to report/not report indicated a possibility that they were in a better position than the LTTE to control the information of the humanitarian crisis as far as the media reporting is concerned. On the other hand, it also reveals a fact that certain newspapers possibly operated with an agenda to create a particular form of discourse by omitting and preferring certain type of news sources. For example, the Indian newspapers, particularly *The Hindu*, seems to have willingly quoted or mentioned the Sri Lankan government and its military as sources for its news stories than any other newspapers, and shown less interest in quoting or mentioning the victims and civil society organisations/NGOs/human rights organisations in their reporting. The excerpt of the coding manual of *The Hindu*, in which all the lead news stories published in its front page is detailed vis a vis their news sources, shows the priority and importance to the stories constructed out of the information received from the Sri Lankan government and its military.

Table 6 Excerpt of the coding manual of *The Hindu*

Date of Publication	Author/Journalist	News Sources	Date of Publication	Author/Journalist	News Sources
15/10/2008	R.K. Radhakrishnan	7,	22/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	1,2
17/10/2008	N.Ram	2,	24/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	1,2
19/10/2008	Anita Joshua	2,	25/04/2009	Special Correspondent	2,7
24/10/2008	S. Vijay Kumar	7,	27/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	1,2,3,4
29/10/2008	N.Ram	2,	28/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	2,3
14/11/2008	Sandeep Dikshit	2,7	01/03/2009	Staff Reporter	7,
03/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	1,2,3	11/03/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	1,2
05/01/2009	N.Ram	2,	11/03/2009	Special Correspondent	7,
18/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	2,4	12/03/2009	PVV Murthi	7,
26/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	1,2	26/03/2009	Special Correspondent	7,
27/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	2,	09/04/2009	Praveen Swami	5,
28/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	1,2,4	13/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	2,
29/01/2009	Sandeep Dikshit	2,4	19/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	2,
30/01/2009	T.Ramakrishnan	7,	19/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	1,2
19/02/2009	Aarti Dhar	4,	21/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	1,2
21/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	1,3	22/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	1,2
01/03/2009	Staff Reporter	7,	24/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	1,2
11/03/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	1,2	25/04/2009	Special Correspondent	2,7
11/03/2009	Special Correspondent	7,	27/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	1,2,3,4
12/03/2009	PVV Murthi	7,	28/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	2,3
26/03/2009	Special Correspondent	7,	01/05/2009	Staff Reporter	7,
09/04/2009	Praveen Swami	5,	02/05/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	2,
13/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	2,	10/05/2009	T.Ramakrishnan	7,
19/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	2,	18/05/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	1,2
19/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	1,2	19/05/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	1,3
21/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	1,2	20/05/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	2,

0= None, 1= Military Officials, 2= Government Officials, 3= LTTE Officials, 4= UN/ Foreign Officials, 5= Victims, 6= Civil Society/NGOs/ Human Rights Groups, 7= Indian Politicians

It was revealed in the beginning of this chapter under Table 2 that the Indian newspapers especially *The Hindu*, had greater interest in the crisis in Sri Lanka, because it published large number of lead stories and sub stories in its front page than any other newspapers. However, as shown in the above excerpt, out of its total 53 lead stories in its front page, *The Hindu* published only 5 lead stories, mentioning or quoting the victims', Civil Society, NGOs, Human Rights Groups, UN or foreign officials. More than 90% of its lead stories in the front page were constructed mentioning or quoting the Sri Lankan government, its military and Indian politicians. Interestingly, 43% of its lead stories that were published in the front page of *The Hindu* were exclusively constructed from the information received from the Sri Lankan government and its military, highlighting the predisposition of the editorial board of *The Hindu* towards the war.

As discussed in chapter 4, media is the far most important tool in creating discourse, where access to media is central to controlling the power. This is why those who intend to exert power over the society want to control or manage the media, so that they would be in a better position to influence the construction of the reality of a situation. In other words, the construction of the reality through discourse is impacted by various sources of power (Van Dijk, 1996, p, 10; Foucault, 1970; 1972). This resonates with what Herman and Chomsky emphasised in their propaganda model (1988).

Within these theoretical perspectives, the Sri Lankan government and its military, with their better access to the mass communication channels seem to have had greater opportunity to attract the media channels towards their discourses and communicative events, and were better able to influence the news production of the crisis. This ability of the Sri Lankan government and its military to access the discourse may have provided them an opportunity to exert power over the international community and control the minds of the masses. In other words, the control over the news sources enables the Sri Lankan government to set the agenda for the public discourse of its so called 'humanitarian war' and what the public and policymakers think about it. The agenda-setting theory could well explain why the Sri Lankan government probably imposed a 'total ban' on news coverage of the crisis from the war zone. The effect of this 'total ban' on news coverage is clearly visible in the analysis of Table 5 with small amount of news stories published with quotations and references from the LTTE and the victims. However, if there was any practice of citizen journalism (Allan, 2013) that existed during the humanitarian crisis, to what extent it impacted the discourse production of the humanitarian crisis during and after the war is a subject for future analysis.

This imbalanced quoting of warring parties and victims is very much likely to influence the construction of 'discursive order' (Fairclough, 2002) and thereby the 'power' concept enlightened by Michel Foucault. On the other hand, as elucidated in chapter three, factors such as the nature of news values, the relationship of journalism to power, the dependence on news sources and the language used to describe war, make conventional journalism to reinforce the status quo of the powerful by creating distorted versions of reality and fuel the conflict. As Sonwalker describes, "it nurtures and reinforces a power geometry that is inherently unfair-some versions of reality are routinely presented as normal" (Sonwalker, 2007, p. 247). This discussion is further empirically developed in the forthcoming sections of this chapter.

Although, as the Table 5 reveals, the newspapers mentioned UN/ Foreign Officials /Civil Society/NGOs/ Human Rights Groups, that this would have certainly contributed to the construction of a 'discursive order' of distant suffering in Sri Lanka. Nevertheless, the discourse that would have been created as a result of the mentioning of these sources are less likely to be dominant, given the very small number of their references, and in the absence of direct war zone reporting.

To quote Fairclough, to recall his definition of ‘discursive order’ (2002, p. 9):

In every society where social action takes place, several discourses operate at the same time. Sometimes discourses reinforce each other, other times they might conflict with each other. The scholars refer to this network of discourses as discursive orders. In this network of discourses, there will be dominant discourses, which are considered to be mainstream modes of creating meaning, other discourses are seen as oppositional, or alternative, or perhaps legitimizing. The orders of discourse become the arena in society where the power plays take place and manifest themselves.

It is likely at this point that the discourse that would have been created as a result of the references to the Sri Lankan government and its military in the international newspapers would have operated as the dominant discourse in the ‘discursive order’ of the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka. Meanwhile, other discourses that would have been created by the sources such as the LTTE, UN/ Foreign Officials and Civil Society/NGOs/ Human Rights Groups, would have operated as oppositional, or alternative discourses.

Shaw explains, the propensity towards the elite sources make the media to produce certain orientation variables such as competition oriented, propaganda/ deceit oriented and demonization oriented, which makes the journalists construct the news stories in a wrong manner (HWJ) (Shaw, 2012, p. 47-48). Thus, it’s likely that the dominant discourse constructed out of the orientation towards the Sri Lankan government and its military sources may contain the orientation variables of HWJ.

By observing this discussion; some conclusions and hypotheses were made, and in the impending sections, the findings will be further scrutinised and the hypotheses will be tested within the content analysis variables incorporated with the frame analysis.

The analysis of the previous sections found that except the Indian newspapers, the UK and US newspapers largely failed to report the crisis. The analysis also found that the international newspapers largely relied on the elite sources to get information to construct the discourse of the humanitarian crisis; and as a result how this relationship influenced the news reports to portray more of the war journalism frame than any other frame. This partly answered the 1st research question. Now, the next section aims to further answer the first research question by analysing the extent to which the media reported some of the important incidents related to the violation of human rights and the sufferings.

6.3 Discourse of the human rights violations and suffering in the newspapers

Table 7 Newsworthy War Incidents vs. All Published News

Noteworthy War Incidents vs. All Published News						
Noteworthy War Incidents	The Independent	The Times	The New York Times	The Washington Post	The Times of India	The Hindu
None of them	21	28	24	37	182	642
UN Withdrawal in Sept 2008	2	0	3	0	0	9
Mass exodus and plight of people	35	41	21	19	55	83
Attacks in No Fire zone	24	23	4	2	16	12
Bombing on Hospital	12	14	10	7	9	12
Human Shield by LTTE	12	19	9	9	11	38
Blockade of food and medicine	10	1	14	2	7	11
White flag Incident	1	1	0	0	2	3

As discussed in chapter 2, the final war between the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE started in 2006; it turned into a humanitarian crisis in September, 2008, when the United Nations was asked by the Sri Lankan government to withdraw from the LTTE controlled areas in Vanni. This is the reason why it was decided to analyse the international newspaper coverage of this crisis from 8th September, 2008 onwards. Despite the repeated appeals by the civil society organisations, human rights organisations and the people, UN had to go ahead with its withdrawal reluctantly, as the artillery shells started attacking the UN compounds and the government announced that it cannot guarantee the safety of the UN (UN Internal Review Report, 2012, Para 14, 26, 31 & 38; Ratner, 2012.p.796).

It was warned that the withdrawal of the UN would lead to massive bloodshed and human rights violations. What followed was a very violent conflict during which brutal mass killings, war crimes and crime against humanity occurred. According to the UN panel of report, the Sri Lankan forces shelled hospitals and no fire zones, executed the surrendered people and raped the women. The panel also accused the LTTE for preventing the civilians from escaping and using them as human shields (Panel of Experts Report, 2011, BBC, 2015, Report of the OHCHR Investigation on Sri Lanka, 2015). It was at this point the UN and other responsibility holders had the responsibility to take appropriate measures to prevent the situation from becoming catastrophic and protect the people from possible mass atrocity crimes by both parties, and perhaps should have invoked the first responsibility of R2P : ‘responsibility to prevent’. On the contrary the international media could have reported this event in a proactive manner and practiced human rights journalism; thereby it would have created awareness about the possible dangers of mass scale human rights violations amongst the international community to respond to the crisis appropriately.

This is why the 'UN's withdrawal in September, 2008' was considered as one of the important incidents along with other incidents such as the mass exodus plight of people, attacks in no fire zone, bombing on hospitals, human shield by LTTE, blockade of food and medical aid and the white flag Incident.

As shown in Table 7, almost all the newspapers ignored the UN's withdrawal from Vanni. It was not reported in *The Times*, *The Washington Post* and *The Times of India* at all. *The Independent* reported this incident only 2 times. Other two newspapers *The New York Times* and *The Hindu* reported respectively 3 and 9 times. Although, *The Hindu* reported the UN's withdrawal 9 times in its coverage, the nature of these news reports and their potential to contribute to the protection of human rights, is yet to be investigated. However, in general, it is very clear that the newspapers failed to create awareness about this incident and its alarming consequences among the international community.

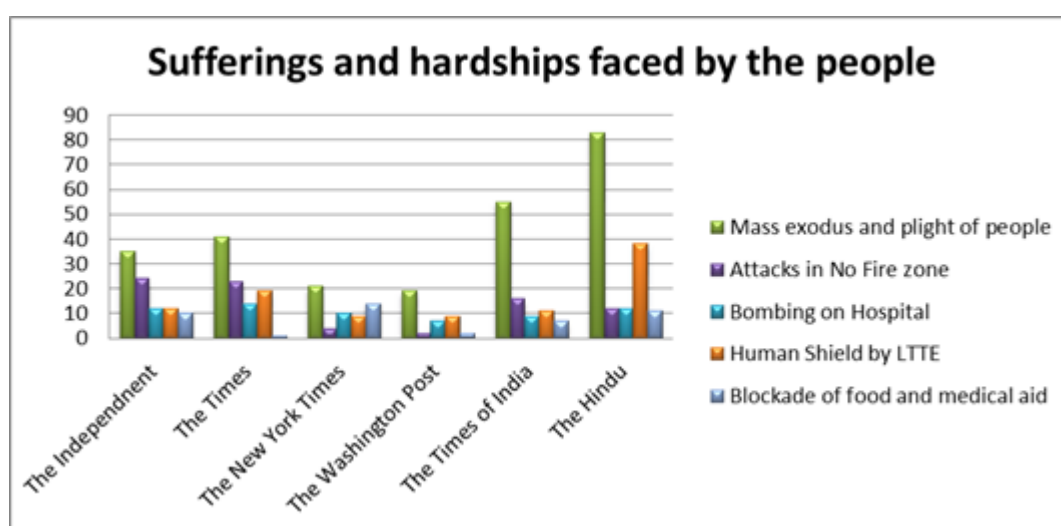
As detailed in chapter 2, when the UN was withdrawing from Vanni, more than 300,000 people who lived there under the control of LTTE were trapped in the middle of war. As the war intensified and the LTTE lost its territory, thousands of people who were not allowed by the LTTE to escape from the war zone, had to face immense difficulties in terms of living in the war zone, where death and bloodshed had become a normal part of life and living without medicine, food and shelter (Panel of Experts Report, 2011; Report of the OHCHR Investigation on Sri Lanka, 2015). There were instances where people in large numbers escaped from the war zone time to time, using the opportunities available, and these people were detained by the Sri Lankan military in large camps in Vavuniya, which is the border area of Vanni, where the war was taking place.

There was a total ban on the journalists and aid organisations to enter the war zone, thus these people were the source of information to them. Consequently, foreign journalists who were stationed in Sri Lanka to cover the war often travelled to Vavuniya to interview people to report about their experiences, sufferings and as to what was taking place inside the war zone. Perhaps, this could be the reason why, as shown in above Table 7, all the newspapers reported more about the mass exodus of the people and the plight of the people inside the war zone than any other incidents.

Although, all the newspapers reported about the artillery and Aerial attacks that took place in the government declared no fire zone, the UK newspapers demonstrated more

importance to this incident than the US newspapers. The same trend is observed relating to other incidents except the ‘Human shield by LTTE’. *The Hindu* reported largely about the human shield incidents where the LTTE was accused of not allowing the people to escape from the war zone for their own safety. Among all these incidents, the LTTE was accused for the human shield incidents by the human rights organisations, civil society organisations, UN and the foreign officials; meanwhile the government was accused for most of the other incidents particularly the repeat attacks on the one of the last functioning hospital in the war zone and blockade of distribution of food and medicine to the war zone (BBC, 2009(d); Panel of Experts Report, 2011, BBC, 2015, Report of the OHCHR Investigation on Sri Lanka, 2015).

Figure 9 Coverage of hallmark Incidents during the crisis



Compared to all the newspapers, *The Independent* provided better coverage of these events that would potentially expose the sufferings and hardships faced by the people as well as the mass atrocity crimes by both sides. Among all the newspapers, the coverage of these hallmark incidents of the final war between the government forces and the LTTE is very much muted in *The Washington Post*. As observed above in Table 1, *The Hindu*, against its very intensive coverage of the final war throughout the period, did not provide due coverage of this incidents.

The analysis in this section highlighted the extent to which the human rights violations and the sufferings were reported in the international press, by analysing how they covered some of the hallmark incidents of the humanitarian crisis, thereby it further answered the 1st research question. However, it is difficult to assess at this point of the discussion about the role played by these newspapers. This is because we still have not scrutinised the

prominence of these incidents in the newspapers at the right page (first page/ inside). This will be scrutinised in detail further in the upcoming tables.

The Table 8 below shows the extent to which the newspapers practiced HRJ. How the news stories were identified as HRJ and HWJ using the ‘Framing Matrix’ as illustrated in the preceding chapter. Therefore, the next section aims to analyse the extent to which the frames of HRJ were expressed in the reporting.

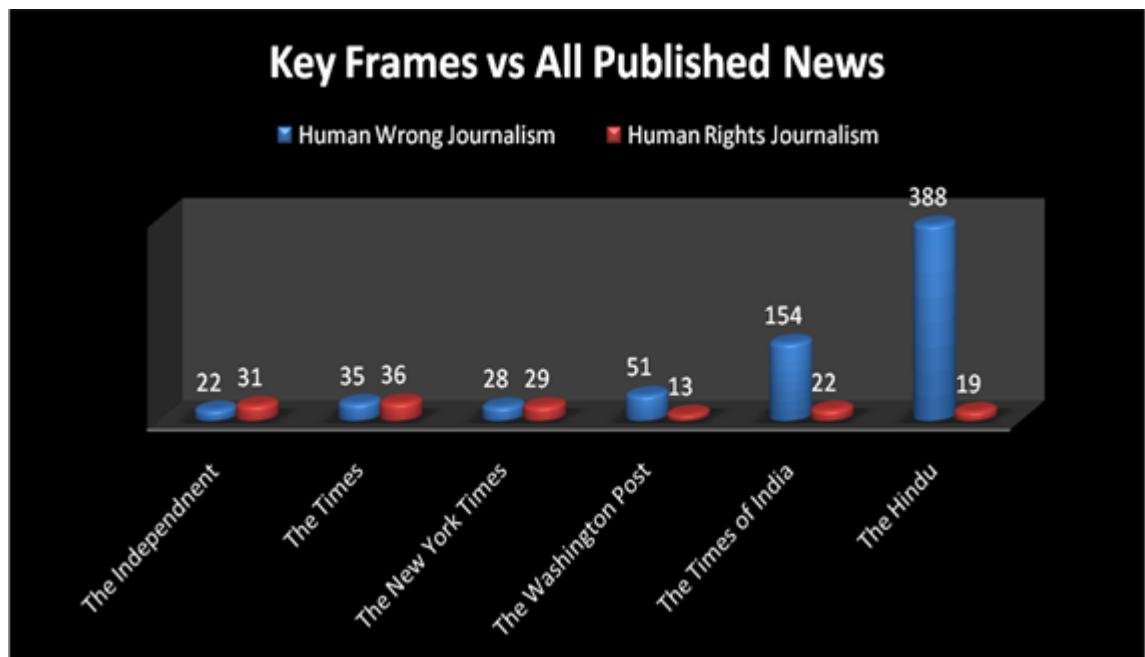
6.4 Practice of HRJ

Table 8 Key Frames vs. All Published News

Key Frames vs. All Published News						
Key Frames	The Independent	The Times	The New York Times	The Washington Post	The Times of India	The Hindu
Human Wrong Journalism	22	35	28	51	154	388
Human Rights Journalism	31	36	29	13	22	19
Not Applicable	7	4	1	0	75	376

As this Table 8 shows, except *The Independent*, *The Times* and *The New York Times* (53%) all the other newspapers published stories that predominantly contain the frames of HWJ. The stories that were considered as unworthy of scrutinising for whether they are HRJ or HWJ were marked as ‘Not Applicable’ in the analysis process. This category includes news stories that are not directly related to the humanitarian crisis such as the events that took place in foreign countries. This is why; the calculation presented in this discussion excludes the ‘Not Applicable’ category.

Figure 10 Key Frames vs. All Published News



The percentage of news stories adhering to the frames of HRJ published by the newspapers are as follows: *The Independent* (58%), *The Times* (51%) and *The New York Times* (51%), *The Washington Post* (20%), *The Times of India* (13%) and *The Hindu* (5%). The *Independent* (58%), *The Times* (51%) and *The New York Times* (51%) consist majority of the HRJ frames only by a narrow margin. Nevertheless, they have also to a certain extent contributed to the discourse of the HWJ, because there is only 1% difference between HRJ and HWJ in *The Times*, whereas a big difference is seen in *The Washington Post* and *The Indian* newspapers – particularly *The Hindu*.

Meanwhile, what are the causes that led to the practice of HWJ in these newspapers is yet to be empirically scrutinised. Nevertheless, as observed in Table 5, the reliance on the Sri Lankan government and its military sources along with its lack of access to the war zone could have restricted the practice of HR. This in turn probably might have restrained exposing the human rights violations and suffering. This study will draw more insights further on this problem in the upcoming tables/charts and also in the next chapter. Table 9 below provides insights into the representation of HRJ and HWJ in the type of news stories published, with the purpose identify correlations between the variables.

Table 9 Key Frames vs. Type of news Stories

Key Frames vs. Type of News Stories												
Sub Frames	The Independent		The Times		The New York Times		The Washington Post		The Times of India		The Hindu	
	HWJ	HRJ	HWJ	HRJ	HWJ	HRJ	HWJ	HRJ	HWJ	HRJ	HWJ	HRJ
News Report	11	10	25	20	16	19	7	3	141	12	360	17
Editorial	0	4	0	5	0	2	1	1	3	4	12	0
Column	3	5	0	5	1	1	1	1	5	2	9	2
News Feature	8	9	0	1	3	6	5	8	5	4	3	0
Cartoon/Illustration	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0
Letter	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Weekly news summary	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
News in brief	0	1	10	2	8	1	37	0	0	0	0	0

Almost in all the newspapers except *The New York Times*, HWJ is presented in the news reports than any other type of news stories. As shown in Table 5, all the newspapers relied on elite sources such as the Sri Lankan government and its military for their news stories, and thus, it is very much likely that the newspapers would have relied on the elite sources to publish the news reports. This heavy dependence on elite sources is likely to facilitate the construction of more war journalism frame and, as described in chapter 4, makes the media to accept the military terminologies, its agenda and the perspectives of the elites without any critical scrutiny. This is possibly because the journalists could have been forced into a situation to practice uncritical reporting given the described conditions within which they were operating such as the ban on them to go to the war zone or censorship.

Although, more HWJ is expressed in *The Washington Post* in its ‘news in brief’ category than its ‘news reports’, both are same in terms of their features; former is a summary form of the later.

For example, a news feature written by Stephen Khan from Colombo for *The Independent* titled “Sri Lankans celebrate fall of Tigers' capital; President Rajapaksa announces capture of Tamil rebels' stronghold in Kilinochchi” which was published on the 3rd of January, 2009, shows how the journalists become under the influence of elite sources to dehumanise the ‘other’ side and construct the zero-sum framing of war. Although, the author refers to a hospital staff regarding a suicide attack in Colombo and quotes an ordinary citizen for an opinion with regard to the war that took place years back, the story gives prominence to the Sri Lankan President’s opinion about a military breakthrough. To quote the story: “It was the constant dream of all Sri Lankans, whether Sinhala, Tamil or Muslim, who are opposed to separatism, racism, and terrorism, and have always sought peace, freedom and democracy, President Rajapaksa said”. “Today our heroic troops have made that dream a reality. A short while ago, our brave and heroic troops have fully captured Kilinochchi that was considered the main bastion of the LTTE [the Tigers].” To provide the LTTE side of the information, the author refers to a pro-rebel website and quotes: “The Sri Lankan army has entered a virtual ghost town, the website said”. “The Tigers, who had put up heavy resistance so far, had kept their casualties as low as possible in the defensive fighting.”

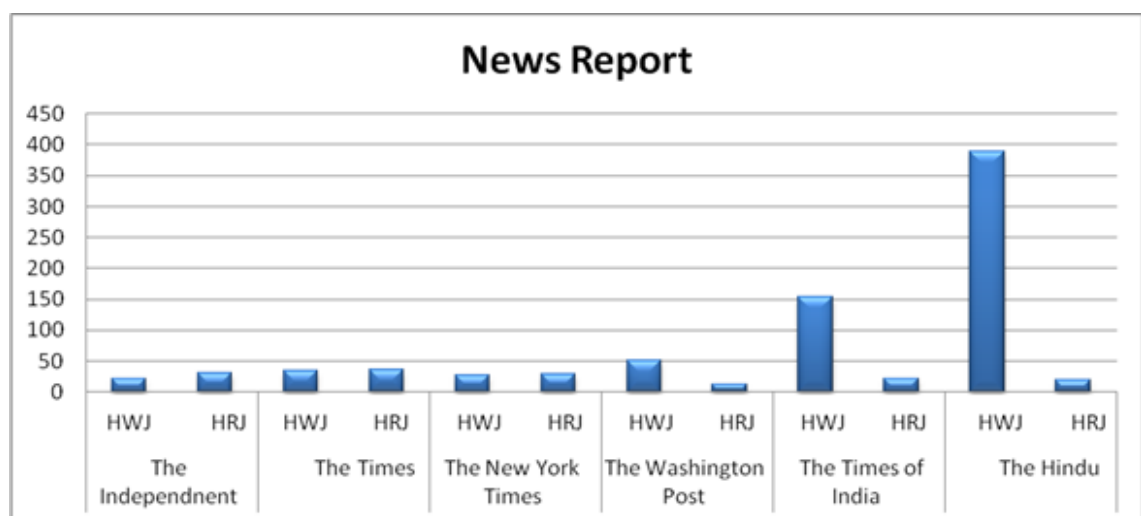
As per the war journalism framing memo of HWJ matrix, which is used to analyse this story, the core position involved in this story ‘focuses on violence, war winners and differences between the parties, and the metaphor of the framing is centred on ‘zero- sum game’. There are numerous examples of news stories and news features (see Appendix 4-9), in all six newspapers using the catchy phrases such as “victory is not so far away from”, “final assault”, “overwhelming the remaining”, “final hours”, “end game”, “escape routes cut off” and “hopeless battle”. This type of war journalism makes the readers to believe that the war is inevitable and righteous to resolve the problem.

A first page news report in *The Hindu* dated 12th May, 2009 is another example. The report titled “Sri Lankan troops poised for big breakthrough” quoted to the Defence Secretary of Sri Lanka: “On the basis of reports from the military commanders I can say that the troops are poised for a major breakthrough in the next 48 hours”. Meanwhile, the news suppresses an attack in the safety zone, which as UN described is a ‘bloodbath’,

where over 100 children, were believed to be died. The news quoted the Defence Secretary saying that this was propaganda by the LTTE. Meanwhile, the news report in its last paragraph quoted a Sri Lankan Government doctor, who was in the war zone stating: “393 people were either brought to the hospital for burial or had died at the facility on Sunday, while another 37 bodies were brought in on Monday morning. More than 1,300 injured came to the hospital”.

The influence of the elite sources in the news reports is further confirmed in the analysis of the connection between the editorial writings of the newspapers and the key frames (HRJ/HWJ). Except in the Indian newspapers, there is a conflicting relationship between the type of frame expressed in the news reports and editorial writings. Almost all the editorial writings of the US and the UK newspapers portray HRJ framing, while majority of their news reports portray HWJ reporting. In the case of editorial writing, news features and columns consist too of more HRJ frames in the US and the UK newspapers.

Figure 11 Number of Published News reports



Editorial is a piece of opinion journalism representing the majority opinion of the editorial board. It is persuasive, clearly written and intended to prove a point regarding a specific issue (Lacie, 2008. P. 340-342). Column writing is also opinionated, but it doesn't represent the policy of the newspaper. However, in general newspapers selectively publish the columns to make an impact on a specific issue. Meanwhile, news features are interpretative or opinion based, but they are based on facts, and these facts are built from the 'quotes' of the people rather than the writer (Pulford, 2009, P.44). The heavy presence of HRJ in the editorials, news features and the columns, further reveal the policy of the US

newspapers towards the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka. Furthermore, the strong presence of HWJ in the news stories portray the relationship between sourcing, framing and type of news stories, as stories with more war journalism frames in the news reports come from the Sri Lankan government and its military.

In addition, despite the HWJ news stories published in *The Washington Post*, its news features, column and editorial writings have narrow majority of HRJ frames. This provides some insight into understanding of the conditions that would have made *The Washington Post* to publish more HWJ stories. On the one hand, it shows that there is no nexus between its editorial policy and it comprises of more HWJ stories. It also shows that the larger amount of news reports including 'News in Brief' published within the dependence of 'elite sources' may have made its most of the stories to be HWJ.

Contrary to the situation observed in *The Washington Post*, there is a very clear nexus among the Indian newspapers between their editorial, news feature, column writings and news reports. Particularly, *The Hindu* had published 12 editorial writings during the 8 months period, and none of them are categorised as HRJ. As it can be observed later in this chapter, all its editorials are seen to be endorsing the 'humanitarian war' discourse of the Sri Lankan government and favouring the non-interventionist argument. Similarly, out of its 12 news features and columns, only 2 stories are categorised as HRJ. For example, an editorial written in *The Hindu* on the 18th of October, 2008 is fully based under the terrorism and empathy distance frame. This was written 7 months before the war ended, which should have revolved around the advises towards the Indian government against any moves to stop the war by framing it a 'war against terrorism', Instead, this article urged the Indian government to support Sri Lanka in terms of the humanitarian assistance and relief towards the victims. As per the framing memo of the empathy distance frame of HWJ framing matrix, sources of the problems are seen as terrorism and its solutions are advocated in terms of the conviction for the solution 'injection pains but it cures'. Therefore it appeals to the principle of 'humanitarian assistance and relief' as opposed to the principle of UDHR of the empathy critical frame. This view was consistently stressed in the editorial writings of *The Hindu* until the end of the war in May, 2009.

Further, from the analysis discussed in this chapter so far, it is clear that in addition to the described conditions within which the journalists/newspapers would have had to report the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka, the editorial policy of the newspapers also would have

influenced the Indian newspapers to be supportive of the ‘humanitarian war campaign’ of the Sri Lankan government and guided the occupational culture of their journalistic practices.

Moreover, it can be concluded that although the US and the UK newspapers expressed more HRJ frame in their editorial, news feature and columns writings, in terms of number, the amount of coverage is very small. Thus, it is unlikely that they created a human rights discourse that would have drawn the attention of the world towards the distance suffering and encouraged due political action.

The Table 10 below provides an in-depth inquiry into the (sub) frames that construct the key frames (HRJ and HWJ). This will enable to identify the type of frame (s) that was manifested frequently or absent.

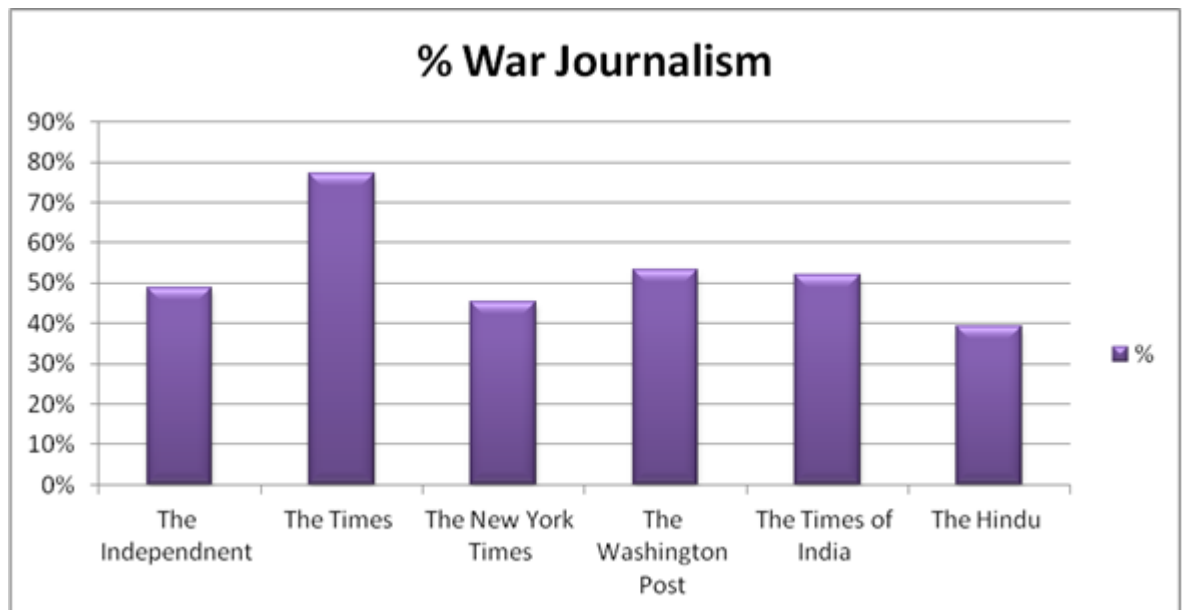
Table 10 Key Frames vs. Sub- Frames

Key Frames vs. Sub frames												
	The Independent		The Times		The New York Times		The Washington Post		The Times of India		The Hindu	
Sub Frames	HWJ	HRJ	HWJ	HRJ	HWJ	HRJ	HWJ	HRJ	HWJ	HRJ	HWJ	HRJ
Empathy Distance Frame	10	0	5	0	11	0	18	0	55	1	194	1
Evocative Reporting	4	0	1	0	5	0	6	0	28	0	64	1
Reactive	0	0	1	0	6	0	3	0	9	0	34	0
Non-interventionist	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	12	0	50	0
War Journalism	20	0	34	3	24	0	40	3	119	0	248	0
Empathy Critical Frame	0	22	0	25	0	22	0	12	0	15	1	8
Diagnostic Reporting	0	19	0	15	0	8	0	6	0	4	1	0
Proactive	0	7	0	13	0	22	0	6	0	3	0	0
Interventionist	0	9	0	12	0	22	0	4	0	3	1	7
Peace Journalism	0	9	0	5	0	4	0	3	0	7	0	8
Terrorist (LTTE) Frame	3	0	3	3	5	0	8	3	6	0	36	0

A story identified as either HRJ or HWJ may contain more than 1 subframes, and as a result, understandably the total number of subframes of HRJ or HWJ is more than the total number of news stories identified as HRJ and HWJ.

As you can see in Table 10, in addition to the sub- frames of HRJ and HWJ identified by Shaw (2012) in his book “Human Rights Journalism Advances in Reporting Distant Humanitarian Interventions”, a sub- frame by the name ‘Terrorist frame’ has been listed. Although, as Shaw enlightened in his book that stereotyping of terrorism such as portrayal of good vs. evil, is one of the key features of war journalism frame, it is distinctly identified in the news stories in this study to scrutinise how the war on terror frame was manifested in the reporting. Therefore, while ‘stereotyping of terrorism’ is considered as a key constituent of war journalism frame, it is also identified separately to see how far the portrayal of terrorism influenced the reporting of the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka.

Figure 12 % on War Journalism



Amongst all its HWJ frames, *The Times* used the war journalism frame on a large scale to construct its news stories, and this is 83% of its total sub- frames of HWJ. The usage of the war journalism frame is very high in number in all other newspapers too: *The Independent* (53%), *The New York Times* (50%), *The Washington Post* (60%), *The Times of India* (53%) and *The Hindu* (39%). Next to the ‘war journalism’ frame, the most largely used frame amongst the HWJ frames is the ‘empathy distance frame’: *The Independent* (24%) *The Times* (11%), *The New York Times* (21%), *The Washington Post* (24%), *The Times of India* (24%) and *The Hindu* (42%). While, ‘evocative reporting’ and ‘reactive reporting’ frames are seen in lower number in the US and the UK newspapers, they are very much evident in the Indian newspapers. Similarly, ‘non - interventionist’ frame is muted in the US and UK newspapers, however it is considerably evident in the Indian newspapers.

Among the subframes of HRJ, ‘empathy critical frame’ is seen in higher number in all newspapers. ‘Diagnostic reporting’ frame is seen higher in all newspapers next to ‘empathy critical frame’. In general, all the subframes of HRJ are very much higher in the US and UK newspapers except *The Washington Post*. This is because compared to all the US and the UK newspapers, *The Washington Post* has recorded very lower number of HRJ reporting. Understandably, the Indian newspapers given the very low number of HRJ reporting produced their stories with sub- frames of HRJ in an extremely very lower number.

As the Table 10 shows, the terrorist label on the LTTE influenced the news production of all the newspapers. The events that have followed the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack

on the US led to the UN Security Council Resolution No. 1373. After this resolution, the LTTE was banned as a terrorist organization in 31 countries, including India, the US, the UK, Canada, Australia and other European Union. In this context, this thesis decided to investigate if the terrorist label on the LTTE affected the reporting and how the LTTE was portrayed in the reporting.

Although all the newspapers framed their stories connecting the LTTE to its terrorist label, this is very high in the stories published in *The Hindu*.

Notably, the disproportion between the non interventionist frame and interventionist frame is considerably high in *The Times of India* (12:3) and *The Hindu* (50:8). Despite the difference in the number of news stories, the discussion so far, has clearly established a link between the two Indian newspapers. And that is that they both tend to support the Sri Lankan government's 'humanitarian war' and are uncritical towards the humanitarian crisis. The differences in their reporting in terms of the non interventionist frame and interventionist frames, establishes a fact that these two newspapers did not campaign for the intervention of a third party or the international community; instead that these two newspapers campaigned for the non-intervention of the international community in the Sri Lankan crisis. This argument is further supported by the very higher level of the 'war journalism' frame which was used in their reporting. Though not proved empirically yet, the parallels between the two Indian newspapers tend to underline a potential national and geopolitical interest that could have influenced their reporting.

As in the case of the Indian newspapers, *The Washington Post* given its higher number of HWJ stories should have ideally framed more stories of non-interventionist frames than the interventionist frame. However, contrarily *The Washington Post* published more stories consisting of the interventionist (4) frame than the non-interventionist (0) frame. The reason for this conflicting relationship cannot be explained at this point of discussion. However, it can be possibly explained in the forthcoming section during the analysis of the sub- frames against their sources and the type of news stories.

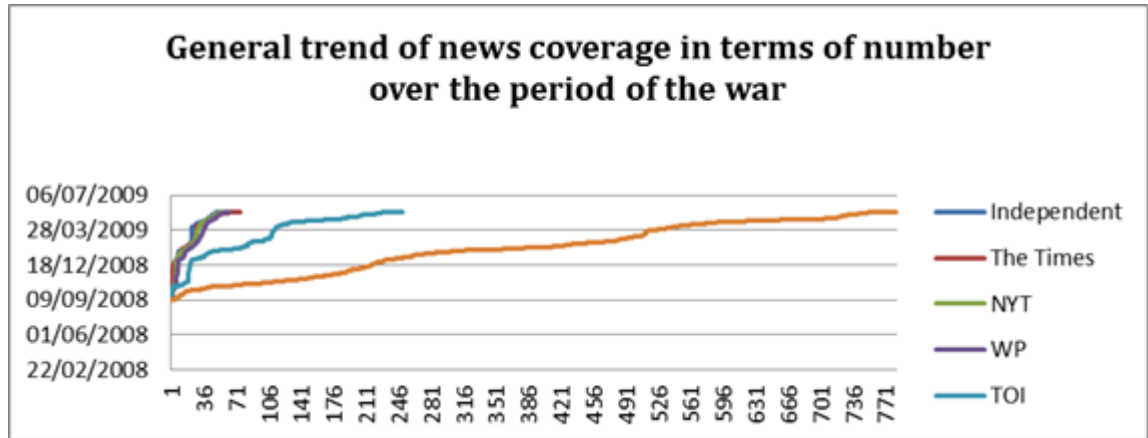
As it can be observed in Table 10, news stories that are identified as either HRJ or HWJ are almost exclusively constructed either by the sub- frames of HRJ or HWJ. This is supported by the argument established in chapter 4 that the sub- frames of either HRJ or HWJ operate in a manner mutually reinforcing each other's function(s), and as a result can

produce a shared outcome or shared (political) function. Nevertheless, exceptionally, as the Table 10 shows, although the ‘war journalism’ frames were identified in the two stories published in *The Independent*, they were classified as ‘HRJ’ stories. This is because, during the frame analysis process, these two stories published on 08/04/2009 and 18/04/2009 titled respectively “Why are the Tamils protesting, and are claims of abuse in Sri Lanka true? Was the biggest question” The article titled “UN in effort to broker safe passage for children in war zone; Central government denies humanitarian crisis despite reports of malnutrition” had its dominant discourse formed by the HRJ frames such as ‘empathy critical frame, proactive and interventionist. As a result, although, there was a war journalism frame formed by the stereotyping of terrorism, identified in the story, it was considered as a HRJ story.

On the grounds of the findings from this empirical study, it could be concluded that although the frames of either HRJ or HWJ are distinctively interconnected among themselves and mutually supportive of each other’s function to produce a shared outcome, they can also exceptionally function independently, as in the case of the stories published in *The Independent*.

It was claimed in this discussion of Table 9 that the news reports within the influence of the elite sources such as the Sri Lankan government and its military would have portrayed more HWJ frame than the HRJ frame given the described situation. Meanwhile, as evidenced in the above discussion of Table 10, among all frames of HWJ, war journalism frame is manifested largely in the news stories, and, a number of factors were identified in chapter 4, including the nature of news values, the relationship of journalism to power, the dependence on news sources and the language used to describe war also to explain why (conventional) war journalism has gravitated towards war and violence. The below chart of the trend of the news coverage of all the newspapers over the 8 months period of times show how the newspapers were in general influenced by the intensity of the war. When the intensity of the war in terms of major acts of violence and attacks gradually increased since September, 2008 till May, 2009, the newspaper coverage too accelerated. This establishes a relationship between the large amount of war journalism frame and the trend of newspaper coverage over the period of time. This also shows how drama had become prominence in the decision-making of the international newspaper coverage of the crisis in Sri Lanka by favouring “events over process and violence over peace “(Galtung and Ruge, 1965).

Figure 13 General trend of news coverage in terms of number over the period of war



Scrutinising the key frames and the sub frames vis-à-vis the type of news stories as well as their news sources would enable this study to generate valuable information to further understand the discourse of war journalism that was generated by the international newspapers.

Table 11 Key Frames vs. Mentioned Sources

Key Frames vs. Quoted or Mentioned Sources												
Quoted or mentioned sources	The Independent		The Times		The New York Times		The Washington Post		The Times of India		The Hindu	
	HWJ	HRJ	HWJ	HRJ	HWJ	HRJ	HWJ	HRJ	HWJ	HRJ	HWJ	HRJ
None	4	8	7	10	1	1	7	0	22	3	51	2
Military Officials	15	6	17	13	18	9	25	8	67	5	164	1
Government Officials	10	14	18	15	14	13	18	5	46	1	189	4
LTTE Officials	6	6	7	7	10	5	4	2	19	4	75	1
UN/ Foreign Officials	5	16	11	20	5	15	4	5	27	4	65	3
Victims	3	9	2	11	1	14	7	10	7	7	15	3
Civil Society/NGOs/ Human Rights Group	7	15	7	14	8	24	8	7	21	9	42	5
Indian Politician(s)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	1	45	7

The breakdown of the quoted or mentioned sources (news sources) against the key frames in Table 11 confirms what was hypothesized in the discussion on Table 10. The news stories identified as HWJ in all the newspapers largely consist of information provided by the elite sources such as the Sri Lankan government and its military. *The Independent*, in its total 48 news stories (except the editorial and the news stories on the events that occurred in other countries), quoted or mentioned the Sri Lankan military 21 times, and in majority of the instances (71%) it categorised the stories to be HWJ. The same trend is observed remarkably very high in all the other Indian newspapers: *The Times* 30 (57%), *The New York Times* 27 (67%), *The Washington Post* 33 (76%), *The Times of India* 72 (93%) and *The Hindu* 165 (99%). As revealed in the above table 10, newspapers relied more on the Sri Lankan government than the military sources. Explicitly, all the newspapers extremely relied on both the Sri Lankan government and its military (elite sources) for their information on the crisis.

In addition, as the statistics in the Table 11 reveal, the news stories constructed from the information obtained from the Sri Lankan government and its military largely contributed to the framing of HWJ in all the newspapers, particularly in the Indian newspapers.

Mixed trend with regard to the frames of HRJ and HWJ against the LTTE sources is observed in the US and the UK newspapers. Nevertheless, the difference between the HRJ and HWJ influenced by the LTTE sources is not significant. Meanwhile, though, in small number, as in the case of the Sri Lankan government and its military, the Indian newspapers produced very large amount of HWJ stories quoting to LTTE sources.

It has already been observed in Table 5 that the reliance on victims for constructing the news stories was very low in all the newspapers- particularly in the Indian newspapers. Except the Indian newspapers, turning to the victims for information to construct the stories contributed to frame more HRJ than HWJ in the US and the UK newspapers. A similar trend is observed with regard to the news stories produced information from UN/ Foreign officials as well as Civil Society/NGOs/ Human Rights Organisations. The reason why the elite sources such as the government and the military produced more HWJ stories and the reason why the UN/Foreign officials as well as the Civil Society/NGOs/ Human Rights Organisations produced more HRJ stories is further enlightened in the Table 12 below, where the sub- frames are presented against the news sources.

Table 12 Sub- Frames vs. Mentioned Sources

Sub frames vs. Quoted or Mentioned Sources																																				
	The Independent					The Times					The New York Tin					The Washington P					The Times of India					The Hindu										
Sub Frames	Government Officials	LTTE Officials	UN/ Foreign Officials	Victims	Civil Society/NGOs/ HR Groups	Military Officials	Government Officials	LTTE Officials	UN/ Foreign Officials	Victims	Civil Society/NGOs/ HR Groups	Military Officials	Government Officials	LTTE Officials	UN/ Foreign Officials	Victims	Civil Society/NGOs/ HR Groups	Military Officials	Government Officials	LTTE Officials	UN/ Foreign Officials	Victims	Civil Society/NGOs/ HR Groups	Military Officials	Government Officials	LTTE Officials	UN/ Foreign Officials	Victims	Civil Society/NGOs/ HR Groups							
Empathy Distance Frame	6	4	2	3	1	3	5	3	0	2	1	2	7	8	4	4	1	6	9	8	0	3	4	3	17	19	10	14	6	10	58	76	30	42	6	22
Evocative Reporting	3	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	4	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	4	2	8	8	5	6	3	6	20	30	5	12	8	5
Reactive	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	4	3	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	0	0	2	1	1	2	2	0	1	11	17	4	7	2	1
Non-interventionist	4	3	2	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	2	1	2	9	25	3	11	4	0
War Journalism	15	10	6	5	2	7	16	18	7	11	3	8	17	10	9	4	1	6	20	14	4	2	8	8	57	36	14	20	2	15	147	156	65	39	8	31
Empathy Critical Frame	6	12	4	13	7	13	11	12	7	17	11	13	8	9	4	12	10	19	7	4	2	5	9	7	5	0	4	3	6	6	2	4	2	3	3	4
Diagnostic Reporting	4	7	4	11	4	10	5	6	2	9	1	3	2	4	1	4	6	8	4	2	1	3	3	2	1	0	1	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Proactive	3	3	2	6	0	6	6	5	3	6	3	6	7	10	4	13	9	20	3	1	2	5	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Interventionist	2	4	1	6	2	6	4	3	4	9	4	5	7	9	4	15	10	18	2	0	2	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	2	2	1	0	1
Peace Journalism	1	3	1	5	2	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	2	2	4	2	0	1	2	2	1	0	1	0	1	1	2	0	1	0	1	0	0
Terrorist (LTTE) Frame	2	0	0	1	1	1	2	3	1	2	1	3	3	1	1	0	0	3	3	5	1	1	4	6	0	0	0	2	0	1	7	15	4	6	0	1

The above Table 12 very clearly demonstrates the power of the government and the military sources, in producing war journalism frames as it manifests very largely in all the

newspapers. Out of the 45 war journalism frames mentioned in *The Independent's* news stories, significantly 15 (33%) of them originate from the Sri Lankan military sources. A parallel trend is observed with regard to the other newspapers as well: *The Times* 16 (25%), *The New York Times* 17 (36%), *The Washington Post* 20 (36%), *The Times of India* 57 (40%) and *The Hindu* 147 (35%). The same trend is seen with regard to the 'government source' as well. The contribution of both the Sri Lankan government and its military to the construction of the war journalism frame is much higher in all the newspapers.

As Shaw (2012) illustrates, HRJ's orientation towards people/human face enables it to create empathy towards the marginalised victims, which gives them a voice and endeavours to expose all underlying causes and human wrongs besides help them solve the problems in a holistic manner. This highlights the importance of receiving information from victims, people and civil society organisations to critically examine and question the issues of conflicts. Against this theoretical backdrop, it would be appropriate to scrutinise how far the people/human face oriented sources such as victims, civil society organisations and human rights organisations contribute in framing the stories during the crisis in Sri Lanka. Although in small numbers due to the restrictions to enter the war zone, in almost all instances except the Indian newspapers, all the news stories constructed from the information obtained from the victims' contain HRJ sub-frames in all the other newspapers. As the Table 12 above illustrates, the information obtained from the victims contributed in creating an empathetic critical frame than other frames.

Also, the Table 12 above shows a fact that quoting or mentioning victims' information alone in a news story does not necessarily have to contribute to the story to be HRJ. As it can be observed, there are instances, where despite the information from victims, some stories were identified as HWJ in all the newspapers. In many instances, mentioning of victims in the stories, led the story to be HRJ in the US newspapers, however this has not been the case in the Indian newspapers, where despite the reference to the victims, stories have largely been HWJ. This is because, on one hand, it depends on the way the information is filtered and framed in the story, and on the other, it depends on how dominant the frame constructed is from the information obtained from the victims among the other frames constructed through the information from sources such as the government, military and civil society organisations. This can be observed from the coding manuals (Appendix 4-9), where most of the stories are constructed out of more than one source. For

example, the below excerpt from *The Washington Post*, better illustrates this aspect of news construction with regard to news sources and frames.

Table 13 Excerpt from The Washington Post

Date	Author	Source	Key Frame	Sub Frame		
12/10/2008	Ravi Nessman	1,5,6	2	6,7,10	0= None 1= Military Officials 2=Government Officials 3= LTTE Officials 4= UN/ Foreign Officials 5= Victims, 6=Civil Society/NGOs/ Human Rights Groups 7= Indian Politicians	Key Frame 1=Human Wrongs Journalism 2=Human Rights Journalism Sub frames 1=Empathy Distance Frame (not engaging, discourage advocacy and intervention) 2=Evocative Reporting (emotional) 3=Reactive 4=Non-interventionist 5=War Journalism 6=Empathy Critical Frame 7=Diagnostic Reporting 8=Proactive 9=Interventionist 10= Peace Journalism 11=Terrorist (LTTE) Frame
29/10/2008		0	1	5		
16/11/2008	Bryson Hull (Reu	1	1	5,11		
23/01/2009		5	1	1,2,5		
29/01/2009	Emily Wax	1,4,5,6	2	6,8		
05/02/2009	Emily Wax	1,2,4,6	1	1,2		
10/02/2009	Emily Wax	1,2,6	2	5,6,7,11		
11/02/2009	Emily Wax	1,2	1	1		
13/02/2009	Emily Wax	1,3,4,5	2	6,7,8,9,10		
15/02/2009	Emily Wax	2,5,6	2	6,8		
21/02/2009	Emily Wax	1,2,5,6	2	6		
22/02/2009	Emily Wax	2,5,6	1	2,5,11		
03/03/2009	Emily Wax	2,5,6	2	5,6,11		
11/03/2009		2	1	5		
14/03/2009	Emily Wax	5	2	5,6,11		
21/04/2009	Emily Wax	1,2	1	1,2,5		
22/04/2009	James Traub	4	2	6,7,8,9,10		
24/04/2009		4	1	5,11		
19/05/2009	Emily Wax	1,2,6	2	6,7,8,9		
19/05/2009		0	1	5,11		

As the above Table 13 elucidates, news stories can be constructed either with one or more than one source of information. There are a few instances, where news stories were constructed without quoting or mentioning any news sources. However, in many instances, news stories were constructed with multiple news sources. Stories with multiple news sources tend to create more (sub) frames, while stories without any sources or with only one source can also create more than one (sub) frame.

As already highlighted in the discussion, the Table 13 reveals the fact that a story does not necessarily have to be either HRJ or HWJ due to a particular news source. For example, the story written by Emily Wax on 05/02/2009 contains information from the Sri Lankan military, victims and Civil Society has more than two (sub) frames (Empathy Distance Frame and War Journalism). Despite more people/human face oriented news sources, this story consists of sub- frames of HWJ, and as a result categorised as HWJ. Similarly, a news story written by the same journalist on 21/02/2009 has multiple news sources (military Officials, government officials, Victims and Civil Society/NGOs/ Human Rights Groups)- although, this story obtained information from the Sri Lankan government and its military, it consists of HRJ (sub)

frames. Meanwhile, the story published by the same author on 10/02/2009 with multiple sources (Government Officials, Military and Civil Society/NGOs/ Human Rights Groups) consists of both HRJ and HWJ (sub) frames: War Journalism, Diagnostic Frame and Empathy Critical Frame.

It was already highlighted in the discussion of Table 10 that the news stories do not necessarily have to exclusively contain either HRJ or HWJ (sub) frames. News reports can also contain (sub) frames of both HRJ and HWJ, as in the case of the story published on 10/02/2009. Although, the empirical results presented so far validates what Shaw (2012) argues in his book “Human Rights Journalism: Advances in Reporting Distant Humanitarian Interventions” that the (sub) frames of either HRJ or HWJ function in a manner mutually supporting and reinforcing each other’s function, because analysis shows that for the majority of the instances this mutually reinforcing and interacting relationship makes the stories to be exclusively consists of either HRJ or HWJ (sub) frames.

It can be understood from the Framing Matrix illustrated in chapter 5, that this mutually influencing and reinforcing relationship has resulted, primarily because of the correlation among the framing memo of the sub- frames of HRJ/HWJ. For example, as far as the framing memos of HRJ are concerned, there is a mutually reinforcing and interacting relationship seen among the properties of framing memos of each sub-frames. For example, one of the properties of memo “Core position” is concerned, that there is a mutually influencing correlation observed amongst the HRJ sub-frames: Empathy Critical (*Analysing the root causes/Provide better understanding of the problem; serves as informative platform through questions and structural realities*), Diagnostic Reporting (*Upholding of human rights through the construction of human rights based discourse*), Proactive (*look ahead and inform in advance/early warning, so that you can act*), Interventionist (*draw IC’s/ responsibility holder’s attention*) and Peace Journalism (*Promoting a culture of peace and providing a more balanced coverage that involves all conflict parties involved*). A similar mutually supportive relationship is seen among the other properties as well: metaphor, images, catchphrases, source of the problem, and solution to the problem and appeal to principle.

This however does not mean that a story can only be built by either the (sub) frames of HRJ or HWJ exclusively. (Sub) frames of both HRJ and HWJ can operate in a news story simultaneously with their distinct function.

As evidenced in the above table 13, constructing a story from multiple sources, as in the case of the story published on 10/02/2009 in *The Washington Post*, may enable it to contain (sub) frames of both HRJ and HWJ. However, as manifested in the discussion, whether these stories are HRJ or HWJ is determined, on the one hand, by how journalists/ newsroom of a particular newspaper handles the frames to streamline information flow to their readers, and on the other, by how the news sources condition the journalists/ newsroom to frame the stories to meet their goals. Because, as observed throughout this discussion, it has become very clear in this study that the framing of news stories is a two dimensional process, where one dimension is decided by the editorial policy of the newspaper in accordance with the internal guidelines, and the other is decided by the news sources. On one hand, the news source (s) is independently conditioned by the actors involved in a conflict/crisis/ war, and on the other, the frame is mediated between the editorial policy and the 'conditioned news sources'. Understandably, these 'two dimensional processes' of framing is subjected to the influence of various ideological, political, geographical and cultural contexts in which discourse is created. This is because with different editorial stance, the US and the UK newspapers as well as the Indian newspapers constructed different news stories with different frames. The 'pro-war' editorial stance taken by the Indian newspapers, on one hand, goes parallel to the discussion in chapter 2 that the Indian government was supportive of the war in Sri Lanka due to its national and geopolitical interests associated with the conflict. On the other, it shows how the position of the Indian government towards the crisis in Sri Lanka in terms of its national and geopolitical interests could have influenced the news coverage of the Indian newspapers.

The 'Framing Matrix' enlightens how its properties of memo decides on the 'effect' that is created through the two dimensional process in the news stories/articles. As it can be understood in the Framing matrix, that the 'catch phrases' and 'images are very much likely to be influenced by the news sources. Whereas, the properties such as 'core position', 'source of the problem', 'solution to the problem' and 'appeal to principle' are very much likely to be influenced by the editorial position of the newspapers given various ideological, political, geographical and cultural contexts. Therefore, although

the news sources are independently conditioned by the actors involved in a war, the construction of 'images' and 'catch phrases' are influenced by the editorial position in line with its favoured properties; source of the problem, solution to the problem and appeal to principle.

For instance, as far as the Indian newspapers are concerned, their 'pro- war' editorial position influenced by geopolitical reasons is very much likely to be attracted by the properties of the HWJ Framing Matrix. For example, as far as the 'non- interventionist' frame is concerned its 'source of the problem' is seen as 'unfair and uncompromising demands of terrorists', and the 'solution to the problem' is seen as 'an internal issue to be sorted out inside Sri Lanka' within the principle of realist school. And, although its catchphrases such as 'freeing terrorists clutches', 'pressure them to surrender/lay down arms', 'uncompromising military secessionism', 'freeing the remaining civilians', 'Humanitarian/rescue operation', 'interfering in internal affairs', 'they will use the ceasefire', 'it is our duty to protect our people', 'we are more concerned about our own citizens than anyone else could be', are from the news sources, which is independently conditioned by the actors involved in a war, that constructed in line with the editorial position of the Indian newspapers.

As shown in Table 12, it is under the influence of the two dimensional 'effect' that, victims as news sources perhaps enabled the US and the UK newspapers to construct more HRJ stories, while the Indian newspapers constructed HWJ. As evidenced in Table 11 and 12, when a news construction is informed by multiple sources such as military Officials, government officials, UN/Foreign officials and Civil Society/NGOs/ Human Rights Groups, it tends to create more than one (sub) frame within the influence of the above described 'two dimensional framing process', and thereby creates more than one discourse in the story. During this process, discourse and context are mutually related in several reciprocal ways, and different specific discourses are produced and reproduced, for example war, humanitarian, compassion, peace and political (Höijer, Nohrstedt & Ottosen, 2002). This process makes the story to be mixed with various discourses that interact with each other, where a situation is created in which some combination of discourses become dominant, and other discourses become subordinated or suppressed. As explained above, every single frame in the Framing Matrix has different, but mutually influencing properties of either HRJ or HWJ, and

thus one can understand how different would be the nature and the scope of these various discourses constructed based on the catch phrases.

This elucidation draws attention towards Norman Fairclough's (1995) idea of 'discursive order'. The terms 'discursive order', by which Norman Fairclough means configuration of a certain complex of discourses that exist in the society/ world over a certain period of time of a particular issue/problem. This discursive order, as Norman Fairclough argues, is enlightened by the analysis of both choice relations and change relations (Fairclough, 1995, p.64). This is about how media selects, interprets and reconstructs the information it receives from various sources of a crisis, within the influence of institutional, socio, political, economic and cultural contexts, as enlightened in light of the 'Frame Matrix'. Studies on Fairclough's 'discursive order' have largely been about how discourses such as discourses of news journalism and propaganda, and the discourse of global compassion (Höijer, Nohrstedt & Ottosen, 2002) that exist in the public sphere. This highlights the existence of 'discursive order' in the newspaper content constructed out of the information received from the news sources through the 'two dimensional framing process'. As it can be observed in Table 13, despite the combination of the existence of the frames of both HRJ and HWJ in the news stories/articles; they were identified as either HRJ or HWJ.

In other words, the discursive order that operates in a news story consists of various discourses that operate with different understanding of the source of the problem, solution to the problem and its grounding principle. These sometimes reinforce each other, influence each other or even might conflict with each other. As a result of this dynamics, discourses emerge as dominant discourses to form the discourses of news journalism as part of the global discursive order. The same dynamics takes place among the various discourses including the news journalism discourses that form the global discursive order of an issue. Also, as Fairclough explains, "there will be dominant discourses, which are considered to be mainstream modes of creating meaning, where other discourses are seen as oppositional, or alternative, or perhaps legitimizing. The orders of discourse become the arena in society where the power plays take place and manifest themselves" (Fairclough, 2002, P, 9).

Moreover, the studies with regard to Fairclough's 'discursive order' have been subjected to the analysis of both 'choice relations' and 'change relations' of received

information with regard to the discourses operated in the society (Fairclough, 1995, p.64). This context shows how propaganda can have a powerful effect in the ‘discursive order’ in the news stories, as the ‘received information’ from the elite news, which play a vital role in constructing the key frames through an effectively managed information control process in Sri Lanka.

This discussion also provides insights into the understanding of how the ‘discursive order’ that exists in the news stories that form the ‘discourse of news journalism’ to represent the ‘global discursive order’ of a humanitarian crisis.

Table 14 Key Frames vs. Type of Coverage

Type of Coverage	Key Frames vs. Type of coverage											
	The Independent		The Times		The New York Times		The Washington Post		The Times of India		The Hindu	
	HWJ	HRJ	HWJ	HRJ	HWJ	HRJ	HWJ	HRJ	HWJ	HRJ	HWJ	HRJ
Embedded/ spot	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	2	2	0	24	1
Distant coverage (stationed in Sri Lanka,	7	5	7	3	6	10	8	4	40	5	231	7
Distant coverage (stationed abroad)	14	18	26	28	12	16	2	2	16	3	20	1
Agency story	0	1	2	0	9	1	39	4	65	9	13	2
Events covered in own countries	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	1	88	6

As Table 14 demonstrates, in the very few instances where embedded journalism was possible, all newspapers demonstrated HRJ discourse to a certain extent except the Indian newspapers. This sheds some light to understand the reason why the Sri Lankan government would have wanted to ban the journalists from entering the war zone. Meanwhile, none of the embedded reporting by the Indian newspapers consists of HRJ news reports. Except just 1 in *The Time of India*. *The Hindu* published large amount of embedded news reports, and it was underlined in the beginning of this chapter that *The Hindu* must have had some sort of access to the war zone to report about the war. As revealed in the coding manual (Appendix 8), *The Hindu*’s all embedded news reports are full of war journalism frame supporting the Sri Lankan government’s humanitarian war and focussing on the war as a zero-sum game. This, on the one hand leads to a hypothesis that *The Hindu* functioned in a manner playing around with the government propaganda, and on the other procured a privilege from the Sri Lankan government to access the war zone. The analysis of the editorial writing of *The Hindu* in Table 9 further validates this hypothesis. However, as observed already in Table 4, *The Hindu* covered most of its news stories on the humanitarian crisis by distance coverage of its journalist(s) stationed in Sri Lanka (265 out of 343 stories- 77%), and as presented above in Table 14, this contributes largely to its total number of HWJ stories. (Calculation was made *vis a vis* the total number of its news stories excluding the editorials and events which occurred in other countries).

Whereas, *The Times of India* relied more on (Indian) news agencies to report the crisis (74 out of 154- 48%), and this contributes largely to the construction of its total HWJ stories. Interestingly, the news stories of the events that took place in Tamil Nadu in India also reflect HWJ in the Indian newspapers. Meanwhile, the news stories reported from a distance by the US and the UK newspapers do not show any particular trend towards HRJ and HWJ. This may be due to the fact that the UK and the US newspapers within their position against the so called ‘humanitarian war’ would have had to construct the news stories/articles under the influence of the above described ‘two dimensional framing process’.

However, this analysis elucidates the propaganda nature of the newspapers, particularly the Indian newspapers. This is very much evident in Table 10 and 12, where the war journalism frame mainly originated from the elite sources is manifested, and also shows the impact of the various propaganda strategies employed by the Sri Lankan government. Because, as Nohrstedt and Ottosen (2000) explain, the warring parties use various strategies to make journalists to represent the necessary link between the propaganda machinery and the audience, which they tend to do without their knowledge.

Conversely, as demonstrated in the above tables, except in the Indian newspapers, there have been considerable amount of HRJ (sub) frames manifested in the news stories, which, as evidenced, largely originated from people/human face oriented sources. The combination of these HRJ (sub) frames is the source of anti- war discourse coupled with compassion and human rights discourses. As discussed in chapter 2, although the real face of the crisis was not known due to the lack of functioning of the humanitarian organisations and media, based on the available information from the war zone, there were desperate calls from the international human rights organisations and governments for both sides to stop the war. Moreover, the information received from the local organisations, doctors and people from the war zone through satellite technology and other means were also available to the international media. As a result, although in small quantities as shown in the above tables, these sources contributed to construct HRJ (sub) frames, and thereby the anti- war as well as the human rights and compassion discourses.

The Table 15 below provides insights into the potential ‘discursive orders’ that would have been created in the news stories of the newspapers:

Table 15 Sub- Frames vs. All Published News

Sub frames vs. All published news						
	The Independent	The Times	The New York Times	The Washington Post	The Times of India	The Hindu
Sub Frames						
Empathy Distance Frame	10	5	11	18	56	199
Evocative Reporting	4	1	5	6	28	65
Reactive	0	1	6	3	9	34
Non-interventionist	4	0	2	0	12	50
War Journalism	20	37	24	43	119	248
Empathy Critical Frame	22	25	22	12	15	9
Diagnostic Reporting	19	15	8	6	4	1
Proactive	7	13	22	6	3	0
Interventionist	9	12	22	4	3	8
Peace Journalism	9	5	4	3	7	8
Terrorist (LTTE) Frame	3	6	5	11	6	36

As observed already, every single news story can create ‘discursive order’ due to the function of the multiple news sources, where ultimately a dominant frame would evolve as a result of the way the news is framed by the journalist (s) given the editorial guidance. As we have seen, the UK and the US newspapers with considerable amount of HRJ and HWJ (sub) frames were able to almost equally produce anti- war and pro-war discourses of the crisis. Although it was found that the US and the UK newspapers constructed certain level of human rights/ anti-war discourse, this chapter did not explain the nature and effect of these news stories in constructing the reality of the humanitarian crisis. The scope of this section was limited to further provide answer to the 1st research question.

Therefore, the question here is to what extent the ‘discourse of news journalism’ was created out of the ‘discursive order’ in the international newspapers, to represent the ‘global discursive order’ of the humanitarian crisis of Sri Lanka. And what raised awareness of the human rights violations and compassion/empathy towards the distant sufferings of the people and encourage intervention. Knowing these would answer the 2nd research question: How and to what extent did the international newspapers expose the issues of human rights within the R2P framework to construct options for intervention in Sri Lanka?

As these research question imply, Chouliaraki’s conceptual framework of “Distant Suffering” becomes heart of this discussion. In addition to a deeper analysis of the roles of the sub-frames in the R2P, this study also has to scrutinise the space- time and agency disposition in the news stories, to answer these questions, which we will do in the next chapter 7.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter, first of all, analysed the extent to which the international press paid attention to the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka in terms of the number of coverage, and found that except the Indian newspapers, the UK and the US newspapers largely failed to report the crisis. The reason why the Indian newspapers reported the crisis to a larger extent, and why the US and the UK newspapers failed, were enlightened in light of Galtung and Ruge's (1965) news value of cultural proximity or familiarity as well as Herman and Chomsky's explanation of 'anti-ideology filter' (1988).

The analysis also revealed the lack of attention towards the crisis in the UK and the US newspapers. It also discovered the inability of the newspapers to publish the raw images of distant suffering, which was caused due to the lack of access to the war zone. Largely, the access to information and communicative events, the type of news sources and rhetoric on terrorism were found to be the factors that affected the practice of HRJ.

Secondly, the relationship between the news sources and the type of news stories, and as a result how this relationship influenced the news reports to portray more war journalism frame than any other frames as well as how the opinionated pieces contained more HRJ frames particularly the empathy critical frame, diagnostic frames and interventionist frame was also revealed.

Thirdly, this study found how the international newspapers failed to report the hallmark incidents of the crisis, and thus failed to bring the sufferings of the people to the consciousness of the largest possible Western audience. Importantly, this study highlighted how the editorial policy of the newspapers influenced the practice of HRJ in the case of the humanitarian crisis of Sri Lanka, and how the newspaper *The Hindu* made its journalists/newsroom to play the game of war propaganda with the Sri Lankan government articulating HWJ. It also examined how, neither the 'pro-war' nor strong 'anti-war' position (neutral) of the UK and the US newspapers enabled their journalists/newsroom to practice HRJ to a certain extent.

Overall, the analysis articulated throughout various variables set out in the coding manual that highlighted the 'two dimensional framing process' in which the functional relationship between the editorial policy and the news sources mediate the nature of the frame in light of the properties of the Framing Matrix. This 'two dimensional framing process' also

enlightened how the (sub) frames of HRJ and HWJ determine the nature and scope of the 'discursive order' in the news stories, and contribute to the discourse of news journalism as part of the global discursive order.

These stages of analysis in terms of the extent to which the international newspapers covered the final war in Sri Lanka, the sources mentioned or quoted in the news stories published in the newspapers, the extent to which the media reported some of the important incidents of the crisis and the extent to which frames of HRJ were expressed in the reporting, eventually provided answers to the 1st research question.

Chapter 7: Exploring the Impact of the Representation of the Humanitarian Crisis in Sri Lanka in the International Press

7.0 Introduction

The findings and discussion of the previous chapter focussed on scrutinising the extent to which the international newspapers practiced HRJ in their coverage of the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka in 2009 and how they contributed to the discourse of news journalism as part of the global discursive order of the crisis.

First of all, the analysis revealed the lack of due attention and importance among the international newspapers except *The Hindu* towards the crisis in terms of the number of news coverage as well as the layout and position of the news stories and articles in the newspapers. The analysis demonstrated the lack of due attention and importance among the international newspapers except the Indian newspapers towards the crisis in terms of the number of news coverage to create due awareness to and draw the attention of the world to the crisis.

The analysis also showed how the access to information and communicative events as well as the type of news sources played an important role in influencing the discourse production of the Sri Lankan humanitarian crisis and influenced the practice of HRJ. As revealed in the findings, all the newspapers heavily relied on the Sri Lankan government and its military for information than any other news sources.

It also portrayed how the dependence on the elite sources enabled the Sri Lankan government to propagate its propaganda campaign of its so called humanitarian war. Moreover, to control the knowledge production over the ‘global discursive order’ of the crisis to exert power over the cosmopolitan world. This analysis also underlined the influence of the ‘rhetoric’ on terrorism to undermine the reporting of the crisis.

Overall, chapter 6 in terms of quantitative insights of the content analysis analysed the extent to which the international newspapers, exposed the human rights violations and practiced the HRJ as well as highlighted the factors that influenced the practice. Despite the failure of the Indian newspapers to practice the HRJ, the analysis found a considerable level of HRJ practiced by the UK and the US newspapers. Nevertheless, the chapter 6 did not focus its analysis to identify the nature and scope of the HRJ and the effect it would

have caused in terms of their agenda setting role to prevent the distant human rights violations.

Against this backdrop, this chapter attempts to address this investigative deficit focussing on the qualitative insights that arise from the findings of the content analysis. This directs its analysis towards how and to what extent the international newspapers expose the issues of human rights within the R2P framework to construct options for intervention in Sri Lanka (2nd research question). In order to fully be able to answer the 2nd research question of this study, the analysis of this chapter is divided into sections, each dealing with a specific scrutiny of the coverage of the newspapers. With the help of the 'Frame Analysis Matrix', the first section deals with how and why the international newspapers failed/succeeded in drawing the attention of the global state actors for their act/failure to act in Sri Lanka. The second section, using the 'Multimodal Discourse Analysis Matrix', scrutinises the impact of the press coverage on the action on suffering within R2P framework.

7.1 The failure of the press to act as a watchdog and to question the global state actors

As the Table 16 below shows, among all type of news stories published, the news reports comprise of extremely large amount of war journalism frame. This shows a mutually influencing relationship between the 'news reports' and 'war journalism' frame, which would not have happened if journalists/newsroom people did not depend more on the elite source for information relating to the war.

Table 16 Sub-Frames vs. Type of News Stories

Sub Frames	Sub frames vs. Type of News Stories																																															
	The Independent							The Times							The New York Times							The Washington Post							The Times of India							The Hindu												
	News Report	Editorial	Column	News Feature	Cartoon/Illustration	Letter	Weekly News Summary	News in Brief	News Report	Editorial	Column	News Feature	Cartoon/Illustration	Letter	Weekly News Summary	News in Brief	News Report	Editorial	Column	News Feature	Cartoon/Illustration	Letter	Weekly News Summary	News in Brief	News Report	Editorial	Column	News Feature	Cartoon/Illustration	Letter	Weekly News Summary	News in Brief			News Report	Editorial	Column	News Feature	Cartoon/Illustration	Letter	Weekly News Summary	News in Brief						
Empathy Distance Frame	6	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	1	3	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	12	51	0	4	1	0	0	0	181	9	5	1	3	0	0	0	
Evocative Reporting	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	25	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	54	5	3	3	0	0	0	
Reactive	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	26	3	4	1	0	0	0		
Non-interventionist	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	35	10	4	1	0	0	0		
War Journalism	10	0	2	8	0	0	0	0	26	1	0	0	0	0	0	10	15	0	1	2	0	0	0	6	5	1	1	6	0	0	0	30	109	3	3	4	0	0	0	0	229	10	7	1	1	0	0	0
Empathy Critical Frame	10	1	2	7	0	1	0	1	17	2	1	1	0	2	0	2	16	1	0	5	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	7	0	0	0	10	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Diagnostic Reporting	3	3	5	5	0	2	0	1	6	4	3	0	0	1	0	1	4	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	4	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Proactive	3	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	7	2	2	1	0	1	0	0	16	1	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Interventionist	3	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	6	2	1	1	0	2	0	0	17	1	0	3	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	6	0	2	0	0	0	0		
Peace Journalism	0	4	2	3	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	3	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	2	0	0	0	0
Terrorist (LTTE) Frame	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	6	0	0	0	1	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	19	9	7	1	0	0	0	

It was already evident in the discussion under Table 9 in chapter 6 that while the editorial writings of the US and the UK newspapers portrayed HRJ frame, the Indian newspapers depicted HWJ frames reflecting various stance of their editorial policy with regard to the war in Sri Lanka. The breakdown of these two key frames *Vis a Vis* the type of news story in Table 9 in chapter 6 further distinguishes the editorial stance of the newspapers. As illustrated in Table 16 above the HRJ frames articulated in the editorial writings of the US and the UK newspapers consist of ‘interventionist frame’ along with other (sub) frames. This shows the critical stand toward the war of these newspapers. The other frames often manifested along with the ‘interventionist frame’ in their editorials are the ‘Empathy Critical Frame’ and ‘Peace Journalism’ frame. This shows how the combination of the three (sub) sub-frames of HRJ interact with each other and reinforce each other’s function. On the contrary, the editorial writings of the Indian newspapers consist of ‘non-interventionist’ frame and ‘war journalism’ frames coupled with ‘empathy distance’ frame. This proves the pro-war position of the Indian newspapers as well as their likely function of playing the game of propaganda with the Sri Lankan government.

Interestingly, despite the portrayal of the ‘terrorist’ frame in their editorials, the US newspapers took into account of the sufferings and the human rights violations of the people by both sides, and wanted the international community to step in to stop the war. On the other hand, the Indian newspapers took the advantage of the ‘terrorist’ frame to support the Sri Lankan government's ‘humanitarian war’ as the solution to the ethnic conflict.

Like editorial writings, more HRJ (sub) frames are manifested in the news feature and the columns published in the US and the UK newspapers. The opposite tendency is dominant

in the Indian newspapers. Despite the reliance on the elite sources such as the Sri Lankan government and its military, the US and the UK newspapers were able to express more HRJ (sub) frames in their news feature and columns possibly due to two reasons: 1. Their 'anti-war'/critical editorial stance towards the war. 2. In addition to the elite group, they also consulted people/human face oriented sources often for news.

Table 17 below, highlights a fact that most of the news reports in all the newspapers rely on the elite sources for information, while news features, columns and editorial rely on multiple news sources that includes both elite sources and people/human face oriented sources. For example, as shown in the below excerpt from the coding manual of *The Independent* (Table 16), news reports published on 18/05 and 19/05 heavily depend on elite sources, while the opinionated articles such as news features and columns rely on multiple sources. However, Table 16 also indicates a fact that in many instances news features, columns and editorials were published without quoting or mentioning any sources. A fact is that although the news reports do not solely rely on elite sources, to a larger extent they depend on the elite sources for information. Nevertheless, this condition is not applicable in the case of news feature, column and editorial writings, where the authors/journalists have a freehand to search for information to write the stories either with or without any sources in line with the internal guidance associated with the editorial policy. This is why news features, columns and editorial writings are opinionated and persuasive. Furthermore, when the newspapers take no position (neutral) with regard to a conflict it does influence the opinionated writings by giving independence to the journalists/writers to frame the stories in terms of moral obligations towards human rights and the notion of objectivity.

Table 17 Excerpt from the coding manual of The Independent

Date	Author	Type of News Story	News Source	Key Frame	Sub Frame(s)
18/05/2009	Andrew Buncombe	1	1,	1	1,2,5,11
18/05/2009	Nirmala Rajasingham	3	0,	1	1,
18/05/2009	Kim Sengupta	4	1,2,3,4	1	1,5
18/05/2009		2	3,4,5	2	8,10
19/05/2009	Peter Popham	1	0,	1	5,
19/05/2009	Andrew Buncombe	1	1,2	1	2,5
19/05/2009	Farah Mihar	3	0,	2	6,10
19/05/2009	Jerome Taylor	4	0,	2	7,
20/05/2009	Jerome Taylor	3	0,	1	1,
20/05/2009	Anthony Dworkin	3	0,	2	6,7,9
20/05/2009	Andrew Buncombe	8	2,3,4,6	2	6,7

1. *Type of News Article:* 1= News Report, 2= Editorial, 3= Column, 4= News Feature, 5= Cartoon/illustration, 6= Letter, 7= Weekly news summary, 8= News in brief
2. *News Source:* 0= None, 1= Military Officials, 2= Government Officials, 3= LTTE Officials, 4= UN/ Foreign Officials, 5= Victims, 6= Civil Society/NGOs/ Human Rights Groups, 7= Indian Politicians
3. *Key Frame:* 1= Human Rights Journalism (HRJ), 2= Human Wrong Journalism (HWJ)
4. *Sub-Frames:* 1=Empathy Distance Frame, 2=Evocative Reporting, 3=Reactive, 4=Non-interventionist, 5=War Journalism, 6=Empathy Critical Frame, 7=Diagnostic Reporting, 8=Proactive, 9=Interventionist, 10= Peace Journalism, 11=Terrorist (LTTE) Frame

In this backdrop of the emphasis on the influence of the editorial policy in the construction of the news stories, this study underlines the fact that the viability of practising HRJ, to a greater extent is decided by the editorial policy of the newspapers. The practising of HRJ matters in a very big way when the editorial policy of a newspaper towards a crisis is decided in terms of geopolitical and institutional reasons, as it seems to have been the case of the Indian newspapers.

In the case of the Indian newspapers, the ‘pro- war’ stance of the editorial boards seems to have made their journalists to endorse the war, and thereby practice HWJ regardless of the cost of the war. Applying this argument in the opposite direction generates a theory that a strong ‘anti- war’ stance in the context of the concern for human rights of a newspaper would ideally enable the journalists/newsroom of a newspaper to practice HRJ to a larger extent. Thus, in the case of the Sri Lankan humanitarian crisis, there is no such strong ‘anti- war’ editorial policy that is evident in any of the newspapers, as the US and the UK newspapers which comparably portrayed more HRJ frame that consisted of considerable amount of HWJ including terrorist frame. This shows that the editorial policy of the UK and the US newspapers have positioned their editorial policy to be neither ‘pro- war’ nor ‘strong anti- war’. Instead, they appear to have been influenced by neutral position.

The discussion in this chapter so far has clearly established the fact that the Indian newspapers failed in their reporting of the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka in terms of practising HRJ. Although, the HRJ practice was observed in the US and the UK newspapers to a certain extent, this study is yet to reveal the extent to which these newspapers put pressure on the international community to consider the R2P intervention in the crisis.

This is where, as elucidated already in chapter 4, French Social Theorist Michel Foucault's power concept becomes relevant. According to him, a researcher's process of understanding or constructing society is shaped by discourse referred to a body of relations, which in turn reflects existing power relationships, because the construction of societal reality through discourse is affected by various sources of power. Discourse, as Foucault illustrates, is a culturally built representation of social reality, but not a mirror image (Foucault, 1970).

This is the power of the media, as discussed in chapter 4 referring to Van Dijk, plays the function of persuasion. This, as Van Dijk explains, is the ability and potentiality of the media to influence the minds of their audience, but not their actions (1996, p, 10).

For Van Dijk, access is an important factor in the analysis of media power, as access to 'discourse' is central to manage and control power. Mass media is a tool of discourse production, and therefore those who want to exert power over society tend to control the means of mass communication, in order to make their viewpoint/propaganda discourse of a crisis to be dominant in the global discursive order. Theoretically, ordinary people have the opportunity to use mass communication channels to impact their news production/discourse production; however, in reality their access to these channels is restricted (1996, p.11-12). This theory was very much a reality in the case of the international newspaper coverage of the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka. The findings, results and the discussion have clearly established how effectively the 'access to the news sources' was controlled and managed by the Sri Lankan government and how big was its impact on the construction of the reality of the crisis. Particularly, the discussion showed how the inability/inactivity to access the war zone affected the practice of HRJ. Thereby this constructed the reality of the crisis in terms of direct and indirect human rights violations and their causes as well as compassion/empathy towards the victims. This situation, one

the one hand, did not enable the newspapers to play an active role in the discourse production of the distant suffering, and on the other did not allow the victims to play an active role in discourse production.

Conversely, as evident in the analysis, the elite news sources such as the Sri Lankan government and its military, having access to the media had greater opportunity to attract these newspapers towards their discourses and communicative events. Therefore, it would not be wrong to assume that, as theoretically elucidated in chapter 4, the Sri Lankan government would have been in a better position to empower themselves to exert power over the society and influence the minds of the international community by creating the discourse of ‘their version of the reality’ of the crisis.

On the other hand, the total ban on accessing information from the war zone, extremely affected the news coverage to analyse and disseminate socio, political and cultural information of the crisis to create compassion and establish prima facie case of human rights violations as well as their causes by constructing the reality of a crisis, and thereby potentially did not enable the responsibility holders to design and make interventions strategies consistent with the three responsibilities of R2P with global consensus.

In addition, the lack of access to the war zone, as evidenced in the beginning of this chapter, led to the lack of interest by the respected US and the UK newspapers of reference towards the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka. This relied as a very important reason for the failure of the US and the UK newspapers to construct the reality of the crisis. Despite the great interest associated with geographical reasons, the Indian newspapers too failed to construct the reality of the distant suffering due to their ‘pro-war’ editorial policy.

The research findings and analysis have revealed the overall failure of the international newspapers to create awareness of the crisis and drawing the attention of the international community towards the mass atrocity crimes in terms of human rights during the last phase of the war. This sheds some light on answering the 2nd research question of this study as to how the international newspapers exposed the issues of human rights within the R2P framework to construct intervention in Sri Lanka.

Nevertheless, it was found that the ‘anti-war discourse’ coupled with the discourse of compassion was also constructed as a result of the representation of the HRJ frames. As

mentioned already, people/victims had limited access to the media through various forms of communicative events and discourses, and on the other, journalists too, only had limited access to the fleeing victims from the war zones. Also, as mentioned earlier, the international humanitarian and human rights organisations as well as civil society organisations did function as the news sources during the crisis.

And yet, against the backdrop of this argument, this study has not uncovered the extent to which the international newspapers exposed the issues of human rights within the R2P framework to construct options for R2P intervention in Sri Lanka. In order to fully address the 2nd research question, it is necessary to investigate how far the news stories were potential of creating empathy/compassion towards the crisis and encouraged intervention in terms of their construction of realism as well as space-time (representation) and agency (orientation). This is where Lilie Chouliaraki's theory of 'hierarchical typology of news stories' comes in, which sheds light on understanding the ability of the news stories in light of the frames of HRJ and HWJ, to create a sense of obligation among the distance audiences to care for the victims and influence policymakers/human rights organisations to campaign for the R2P.

7.2 The impact of the press coverage on the action on suffering within R2P framework

All news stories published in the newspapers except the news reports on the events occurred in other countries were subjected to the scrutiny of 'typology of news stories', and the Table 18 below shows the extent to which action on suffering (agency) role was demonstrated.

Table 18 Typology of News Stories vs. All Published News

Typology of News Stories	Typology of News Stories vs. All Published News					
	The Independent	The Times	The New York times	The washington Post	The Times of India	The Hindu
Adventure	29	29	32	57	136	315
Semi Emergency	15	10	14	3	14	22
Emergency	7	15	8	3	2	1

The above Table 18 gives the reality of the impact of the newspapers in drawing the attention of the world towards the suffering in Sri Lanka. Majority of the news stories published in all the newspapers are identified as 'adventure type'. As elucidated in the previous chapter, (Chouliaraki, 2008) adventure news does not produce pity in their exposure of suffering, and they claim objectivity at the expense of emotionality. For instance, incidents recorded through a few lines in the inside sections of the paper would

count as adventure. Sometimes, distant incidents simply appear through captioned photos: no context or explanation, just an aestheticization of the event reported because of its visual value. The sum of both semi emergency and emergency types of news stories has not exceeded the amount of Adventure news in any of the newspapers if you can see the above table 18. Explicitly, the calculation of the percentage of the *emergency* news type reveals its minimal representation in the news stories. The paucity of ‘emergency’ type of news stories in the coverage of humanitarian crisis demonstrates a fact that the international newspapers failed at large to create a sense of obligation among distance audiences to care for the victims and influence policy makers to intervene to end the sufferings.

Potentially, the US and the UK newspapers, which portrayed considerable amount of HRJ frames (see Table 8) should have constructed more ‘emergency’ typology of news stories than ‘adventure’ type of news stories; instead they predominantly contain ‘adventure’ typology of news stories. Semi emergency and emergency typology of news stories are suppressed in all the newspapers. Nevertheless, as Table 19 below shows there is a mutually reinforcing relationship between the HRJ and emergency typology of news stories.

Table 19 Typology of News Stories vs. Key Frames

Typology of News Stories	Typology of News Stories vs. Key Frames											
	The Independent		The Times		The New York Times		The Washington Post		The Times of India		The Hindu	
	HWJ	HRJ	HWJ	HRJ	HWJ	HRJ	HWJ	HRJ	HWJ	HRJ	HWJ	HRJ
Adventure	18	10	25	4	28	4	51	6	124	3	277	5
Semi Emergency	3	12	2	8	0	14	0	3	2	12	15	7
Emergency	1	6	0	15	0	8	0	3	0	2	0	1

As the Table 19 shows, vast majority of the ‘semi- emergency’ and ‘emergency’ type of news stories originated from the HRJ frame. This validates the theoretical argument demonstrated in Chapter 5 on the nexus between Chouliaraki’s ‘spectatorship of distance suffering’ and Shaw’s ‘Human Rights Journalism’. Most of the ‘adventure typology’ of news stories, which do not produce pity in their exposure of distance sufferings, originated from HWJ. Nevertheless, a small amount of ‘emergency’ type of stories did originate from HWJ, and this is possibly because, as observed already, news stories do not exclusively consist of either HRJ/ HWJ (sub) frames, and the characteristics of a powerful HRJ (sub) frame(s) may have the ability to determine the typology of the news story. Meanwhile, as evidenced, in rare instances, news stories consist of both types of frames and the dominant (key) frame of the story is decided in terms of the dynamics of the discursive order in the

news. As it can be observed in the Table 20 below, ‘empathy critical frames’, ‘diagnostic reporting’ and ‘interventionist frames’ largely contributed to the construction of the emergency typology of news stories. This clearly shows the mutual influencing functional relationship between the HRJ frames to create pity and sympathy among the distance spectators to make them feel obliged to care for the victims.

Although, a relationship was observed between HRJ and emergency typology of news stories or HWJ and adventure typology of news stories, it was proved that not all the HRJ news stories are emergency typology of news stories, and not all the emergency typology of news stories are HRJ stories. Likewise, not all the HWJ stories are adventure typology of news stories, and not all the adventure typology of news stories are HWJ stories.

This results probably because, the definitions of HRJ and its sub-frames as well as emergency typology of news determines the aim of the analysis of the identification of the news stories in terms of HRJ framing Matrix. For example, the purpose of the analysis is to identify the type of news story in respect of HRJ or HWJ, is determined in terms of the dominant discourse (s) of the discursive order formed either by one or more than one HRJ or HWJ or sometimes HRJ/HWJ sub-frames in the news story informed by the framing matrix as elaborated in chapter 6. Similarly, when the purpose of the analysis is to identify the kind of typology of news stories, is determined in terms of the dominant discourse/feature of the discursive order determined by the type of realism, meaning making, aesthetic quality, representation and orientation informed by the multimodal discourse analysis matrix. Therefore, although the purpose of these two matrixes are different in terms of the scope and definitions of HRJ/HWJ and typology of news stories, as the analysis revealed there is a significant parallel relationship between HRJ/HWJ and typology of news stories. This can possibly be enlightened with an in depth analysis within the Frame Analysis properties and Multimodal Discourse Analysis properties. Nevertheless, such an analysis is beyond the scope of this thesis, and subjected to a separate study.

Table 20 Typology of News Stories vs. Sub-Frames

				Typology of News Stories vs. Sub Frames														
	The Independenet			The Times			The New York Times			The Washington Post			The Times of India			The Hindu		
	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency
Sub Frames																		
Empathy Distance Frame	7	2	1	4	0	0	11	0	0	18	0	0	44	3	0	117	7	0
Evocative Reporting	1	2	1	1	0	0	5	0	0	6	0	0	23	1	0	39	4	0
Reactive	0	0	0	1	0	0	6	0	0	3	0	0	6	0	0	26	2	0
Non-interventionist	1	2	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	6	2	0	31	1	0
War Journalism	17	2	1	24	3	1	24	0	0	42	1	0	99	1	0	213	13	0
Empathy Critical Frame	5	10	5	0	4	15	2	11	8	5	3	3	2	10	2	0	7	1
Diagnostic Reporting	5	9	5	2	5	5	1	2	3	1	2	2	0	3	1	0	0	0
Proactive	0	4	3	2	2	6	1	12	7	1	1	3	0	1	1	0	0	0
Interventionist	1	4	4	0	2	7	2	12	7	0	0	3	0	0	2	4	2	0
Peace Journalism	1	5	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	0	1	2	1	2	1	5	0	0
Terrorist Frame	3	0	0	2	2	1	5	0	0	10	1	0	4	0	0	21	0	0

As it was already established in the above discussion, the practice of HRJ/HWJ is heavily influenced by the type of news sources as well as the editorial policy of the newspapers. It is against this backdrop, it was explained how the type of news stories which largely depend on the news sources, construct the (sub) frames.

Table 21 Typology of News Stories vs. Type of News Stories

	Typology of News Stories vs. Type of News Stories																	
	The Independenet			The Times			The New York Times			The Washington Post			The Times of India			The Hindu		
	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency
Type of News Stories																		
News Report	13	4	4	18	8	11	17	11	5	9	0	1	126	10	1	297	21	1
Editorial	1	2	0	2	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Column	5	3	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	5	2	0	10	0	0
News Feature	9	4	2	0	1	0	4	2	3	9	3	1	5	2	1	4	0	0
cartoon/illustration	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0
letter	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
weekly news summary	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
‘News in brief’	0	1	0	7	0	1	9	0	0	37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Furthermore, a similar trend that was observed in the discussion above on the connection between the key/sub-frames and the type of news stories is noticed in the Table 21. While, news reports consist higher level of adventure news stories in all the newspapers; news feature, column and editorial writings contain relatively more emergency typology of stories. This trend, as observed above in the case of the type of news stories against the (key) frames, shows how the functional relationship is between the writing mechanism of the type of news stories and the news sources. As observed already, the general predisposition of the news reports towards the elite sources, may have influenced the news reports to consist of more adventure typology of news stories, while the opinionated writings like editorial, news feature etc. tend to consist more of emergency type of news stories due to the fact that they received information from multiple news sources at large. Moreover, as in the case of the analysis between the key/sub- frames and the type of news, the editorial policy likely to have influenced the outcome of the typology of news stories as

well. The Indian newspapers contain extremely higher amount of adventure type of news stories, showing the influence of the editorial policy.

The breakdown of the news sources against the typology of news sources, as shown in Table 22, demonstrates the connection between the news sources and the type of news as well as the typology of news stories.

Table 22 Typology of News Stories vs. News Sources

Typology of News Stories vs. News Sources																		
	The Independenent			The Times			The New York Times			The Washington Post			The Times of India			The Hindu		
	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency
News Sources																		
None	6	4	1	7	3	1	2	0	0	7	0	0	23	0	0	29	1	0
Military Officials	12	5	4	16	3	7	19	6	1	28	3	2	64	4	0	157	8	0
Government Officials	12	9	4	14	5	8	14	9	2	22	1	0	43	1	0	178	15	1
LTTE Officials	6	4	1	6	2	6	11	2	2	4	0	2	18	3	0	67	9	0
UN/ Foreign Officials	5	10	6	9	5	13	6	7	6	4	1	3	25	2	0	54	8	1
Victims	8	2	1	0	2	7	3	7	4	13	2	2	7	6	0	9	4	0
Civil Society/NGOs/ HR Groups	7	9	6	7	3	10	9	13	7	12	3	0	18	7	2	31	12	0

As this Table 22 demonstrates, the elite source such as the Sri Lankan government and its military contributed more towards the ‘adventure typology’ of news stories, showing the reason why news reports consist of more adventure typology of news stories than emergency type of news stories. Remarkably, civil society organisations, NGOs and Human Rights organisations as well as UN/Foreign Officials largely contributed to construct more emergency type of stories. Victims too contributed to the discourse of emergency typology of news stories. Meanwhile, the statements issued by the civil society organisations, humanitarian and human rights organisations as observed in chapter 2 were full of desperate calls for ceasefire between the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE, as well as humanitarian aid for the trapped people in the war zone who were faced with shortage of food, water, shelter and medicines. As evidenced already, these news events attracted the attention of the newspapers.

Drawing insights from the analysis of typology of news stories and HRJ frames, the discussion up to this point has demonstrated how the inadequate construction of the reality of the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka by international newspapers failed to draw the attention of the world towards the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka, and made the people and policymakers to feel obliged to care and support the victims. The discussion also identified a number of reasons that caused flaws in the coverage of the crisis. Nevertheless, this study is yet to understand more depth and detail on how the communicative properties/characteristics of the typology of news stories would have contributed to

determine the type of discourse to show the reality of the distant suffering and the level of action on suffering (agency) to evoke R2P. In order to analyse this question, this study engages in the multimodal discourse analysis, as elaborated in detail in the previous chapter.

The Table 23 below shows the breakdown of the characteristics of mode of presentation *Vis a Vis* typology of news stories. As explained in the previous chapter, mode of presentation is an important genre in the articulation of multi modal analysis. It is about the location from which the news reporting is done. As already revealed in this chapter, majority of the news stories published in all the newspapers were ‘adventure’ news stories. Hence, the communicative properties such as ‘simple narratives’, ‘questions of why do not appear’ are seen in large numbers in the below table.

Table 23 Typology of News Story vs. Mode of Presentation

Typology of News story vs. Mode of Presentation																		
	Independent			Times			New York Times			Washington Post			Times of India			Hindu		
	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency
Communicative Properties																		
Simple Narratives- Simple reporting of facts	17	0	0	15	0	0	18	0	0	41	0	0	106	0	0	270	0	0
Questions of why do not appear	17	0	0	15	0	0	18	0	0	41	0	0	106	0	0	270	0	0
Complicated narratives	4	7	1	8	5	3	5	6	0	4	0	0	17	3	0	24	14	1
Complicated multimodal narratives	6	11	6	7	5	12	8	8	8	12	3	3	12	11	2	15	6	0
Meditation of suffering gives credibility & distinct claim to reality	1	14	7	1	8	15	1	14	8	0	3	3	0	13	2	5	21	1
Perceptual realism- facticity	1	9	6	1	8	13	1	11	8	0	3	3	0	13	2	5	12	1
Categorical realism- emotion	0	8	2	0	1	9	0	2	6	0	0	1	0	2	1	0	9	0
Ideological realism- Justice	0	0	1	0	2	4	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0

Interestingly, a closer look at the statistics in the Table 23 above reveals a fact that the adventure typology of news stories constructed at least one kind of realisms in a very small number.

The statistics also reveals the demonstration of ‘complicated narratives’ and ‘complicated (multimodal) narratives’ in a small number of adventure news stories. This is inconsistent with Lilli Chouliaraki’s typology of news stories that adventure typology of news stories do not have the capacity to create realism and do not consist of ‘complicated multimodal narratives’. This is because, although the ‘multimodal discourse analysis’ matrix was prepared in line with Lilli Chouliaraki’s theoretical framework and guidelines, the application of the ‘multimodal discourse analysis’ in investigating the news stories, exceptionally, but necessarily identified ‘complicated (multimodal) narratives’ in some adventure news stories.

The composition of the complicated (multimodal) narratives tends to create certain type of realism in the news stories is the reason why, these adventure typology of news stories construct realism. Nevertheless, it was found in the analysis of these news stories that the composition of identified ‘complicated (multimodal) narratives’, and the realism constructed out of ‘complicated (multimodal) narratives’, do not necessarily create agency in the context of the working of agora and theatre, as discussed in the chapter 5. Despite having complicated (multimodal) narratives’, these news stories lack agency function, and therefore they were classified as adventure news stories.

As explained in chapter 5, there is no difference between the semi - emergency and emergency news stories in terms of their communicative properties, and the reason why the category of ‘semi- emergency’ news was necessarily included in this study, was because the communicative properties of emergency news are compromised due to the layout of the news stories in the newspapers.

Importantly, as it can be observed in the Table 23 above, among the types of realism, perceptual realism is much dominant in all the newspapers. *The Independent* is 16, which is 30 % of the total news stories (except the news stories on the incidents took place in foreign countries) considered for the scrutiny: *The Times* 22 (31%), *The New York Times* 20 (34%), *The Washington Post* 6 (10%), *The Times of India* 15 (9%) and *The Hindu* 18 (4%). In terms of categorical realism, *The Independent* constructed categorical realism in its 10 stories (19%), *The Times* 10 (14%), *The New York Times* 8 (14%), *The Washington Post* 1 (2%), *The Times of India* 3 (2%) and *The Hindu* 9 (3%).

This shows, although not in large numbers, except the Indian newspapers and *The Washington Post*, all the other newspapers to a certain extent constructed both perceptual realism and categorical realism. Ideological realism is almost completely muted in all the news stories. The potential effect that would have been created as a result of the kind of realism resulted in the news reports and its reasons can be further understood with an explanation of the nature of these three realisms. Before embarking on such a discussion, it is necessary to demonstrate the breakdown of the *correspondence between text and image* vis a vis *typology of news stories*, as there is a close relationship between the type of realism discussed above and distinct types of meaning relationship of the correspondence between text and image: indexical, iconic and symbolic. As Chouliaraki explains, the type

of realism constructed in the news stories very much relies on these three types of meaning makes (2006, p. 79).

Table 24 Typology of News Story vs. The Correspondence between Text and Image

Typology of News story vs. The Correspondence between Text & Image																		
	Independent			Times			New York Times			Washington Post			Times of India			Hindu		
	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency
Communicative Properties																		
Descriptions rather than narrations	5	0	5	9	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	60	0	0	82	0	0
Visual: minimal, abstracted representations	11	0	11	9	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	60	0	0	82	0	0
Indexical meaning (Perceptual realism- Facticity)	1	7	1	2	5	13	0	7	8	0	3	3	0	12	2	10	5	0
Iconic meaning (Categorical realism- Emotion)	0	5	0	0	3	9	0	2	6	0	2	1	0	2	0	0	2	0
Symbolic meaning (Ideological realism- Justice)	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0

As discussed in chapter 5, perceptual meaning results out of an uninvolved meaning making of text- image articulation (objective perspective) in the news reports, which is built on an indexical relationship. This perceptual realism can be transformed into categorical realism with the composition of cause-and-effect connection with dramatic urgency and sensationalism in the news stories, which makes readers emotionally connected to the suffering. The categorical realism heavily depends on iconic meaning. The ideological realism functions in parallel with categorical realism with a characteristic of claiming justice in the context of ideological dilemma of distance suffering and very much relies on symbolic meaning. While, facts matter a lot with regard to the construction of perceptual realism, articulation of storytelling and image demonstration to make the readers to feel towards the suffering matters a lot in the construction of categorical and ideological realism (Chouliaraki, 2006, p. 127- 139; Chouliaraki, 2007, p.218- 219). This shows the scope of categorical realism and ideological realism to propose specific relationship of action between the readers and victims. Against this backdrop, at large, the Indian newspapers and *The Washington Post* only constructed a very few number of categorical and ideological realism in their stories. Among the small number of the emergency typology of news stories, the Indian newspapers, as revealed in Table 23 and 24, to a larger extent constructed perceptual realism and indexical meaning. Meanwhile, the UK and the US newspapers, failed to construct fair number of categorical and ideological realism as well as iconic and symbolic meanings in their news stories.

While, this described pattern of the construction of realism in the news stories published in the newspapers reveals the impotent nature of them to create urgency and immediacy of the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka and encourage international intervention, it also sheds light on the factors that would have caused this dysfunctional situation. It was already

revealed in the previous chapter as well as in the beginning of this chapter how the lack of access to the war zone, reliance on elite sources as well as the editorial position of the newspapers caused serious flaws in the reporting of the humanitarian crisis in the newspapers.

The breakdown of the typology of news stories Vis a Vis in the Table 22 reveals the defects caused by the news sources in the construction of the reality of the humanitarian crisis. The lack of access to the war zone seems to have seriously undermined the construction of the reality of the crisis through the construction of these two realisms. Moreover, the reason for the existence of large number of perceptual realism and indexical meaning among all the types of realisms constructed in the UK and the US newspapers reveal the influence of the elite news sources. Due to the lack of access to the information, the journalists would have, to a larger extent, depend on the elite news sources to report about the war, and this situation probably made them to construct news stories of facticity in the absence of raw images and information from the war zone.

Moreover, the sharp difference between the Indian newspapers and the US and the UK newspapers except *The Washington Post* reveals the influence of the editorial position to construct the scope and nature of the realism in the news reporting. Importantly, although, it is not revealed in the above tables, during the scrutiny of the news stories, to evaluate the typology of news stories, it had to be necessarily classified and some of the news stories that are potential of being emergency typology of news stories as adventure news stories, as their emergency typology qualities were compromised by the way they were presented, designed and published in the newspapers. Particularly, in the Indian newspapers, news stories that were constructed out of the information received from the human rights organisations regarding the human suffering in the war zone were published in small size in the inside pages of the newspaper. In some cases, the complete lack of access to war zones, made journalists to file stories with map on dots but with strong information obtained from HR organisations and victims through other means. Although, this kind of stories, because of their HRJ frames were considered as HRJ, they had to be classified as adventure typology of news stories for their failure to invite the attention of the readers towards the crisis. Also, as discussed in chapter 4, the lack of prominence given to the story by placing it in a small side in the inside page may influence the minds of the readers in a negative manner and distract their due attention. In turn, had the same story been published in the front page as a lead story (The Flash) or a super lead story, it would have

been classified as emergency typology news story. This is the reason why the number of HRJ stories exceeds the number of emergency typology of news stories in all the newspapers. Not only the Indian newspapers, but the US and the UK also suppressed the emergency typology of news stories in this manner.

As far as the Indian newspapers are concerned, as revealed in the previous chapter, their 'pro-war' editorial position would have been a factor to decide on the presentation of the news stories, whereas the US and the UK newspapers are concerned, despite their 'anti-war' editorial position, the lack of interest towards the distant suffering in Sri Lanka revealed in the previous chapter would have been a deciding factor. As already evidenced in the previous chapter, despite its 'anti-war' editorial position, The Washington Post published most of its news stories as a 'news brief' in a few lines as the lack of interest towards the suffering, made most of its news stories to be HWJ and adventure typology.

The type of realism constructed in the news stories can have a profound impact in creating the aesthetic quality in the news stories. The breakdown between the typology of news stories and aesthetic quality shown in the Table 25 below explains the influence of the type of realism in the construction of aesthetic quality. The overwhelming construction of the adventure typology of the news stories in all the newspapers make them to take aesthetic distance. This trend is very much evident in the Indian newspapers and *The Washington Post*, as observed earlier, compared to other newspapers, these newspapers published more and more adventure news stories, which are simple narratives that consist of simple reporting of facts and do not contain questions of why.

As it can be observed in the table 25 below, the news stories which have aesthetic quality tend to create more 'pamphleteering' than other types: philanthropy and sublimation. Both sublimation and philanthropy quality of news stories are identified in very low numbers in all the newspapers. Exceptionally, 7 philanthropy quality of news stories are identified in *The Hindu*. As explained in chapter 5, the aesthetic quality 'pamphleteering' triggers political condemnation among the spectators, who express anger against the perpetrators of the distant suffering. Meanwhile, philanthropy makes the spectators to do something in terms of providing charity and improving the victims' condition. Sublimation encourages the consideration of the reasons for suffering. These

moral implications and spectator's responsibility enables to understand the underlying reasons for the suffering in order to alleviate it (Chouliaraki, 2006; Aaltola, 2012).

Although as per Chouliaraki's multimodal discourse analysis, there is an aesthetic distance in the adventure type of news stories, stories such as pamphleteering, philanthropy and sublimation cannot exist. Exceptionally as shown in table 25 below, four philanthropy type of aesthetic qualities are identified in the adventure typology of news stories published in *The Hindu*. This is because, as seen in the Framing Matrix, two types of frames of HWJ such as 'Empathy Distance Frame' and 'Evocative Reporting' originate from the appeal to the principle of 'Humanitarian Assistance and Relief. In this focussing on urgent humanitarian assistance is given prominence than HR violations and its causes. It is in this context that, the news production of *The Hindu* newspaper in the context of its pro war editorial position, created four of its news stories with philanthropic aesthetic effect, of which are actually categorised as adventure typology of news stories and HWJ. Looking at these four examples, the news published on 6 May 2009 titled 'U.N. seek \$50 million humanitarian aid', the author depicts the war as a civilian rescue operation: "The United Nations and Sri Lanka on Tuesday launched an urgent appeal for \$50 million to meet the immediate humanitarian needs of civilians fleeing fighting in the North, even as the military said the LTTE was now confined to four sq. km. within the No-Fire Zone (NFZ)". The author quoting the Government sources, continues to describe the suffering of the people in the hands of the LTTE. The same appeal is made to the readers in the other three adventure typology of the news stories as well: India to send 50,000 more family packs to Sri Lanka (3/5/2009), - India seeks greater access to aid agencies (1/5/ 2009), Medical team for Sri Lanka (9/5/ 2009).

Table 25 Typology of News Story vs. The Aesthetic Quality of the News Text

Communicative Properties	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency
Aesthetic distance (Overall semiotic effect- readers' feeling of the suffering)	27	0	0	28	1	0	30	0	0	57	0	0	135	0	0	306	1	0
Pamphleteering - Political condemnation	1	15	5	1	5	13	1	13	8	0	3	3	0	13	1	0	19	0
Philanthropy (Makes the readers to do something in terms of providing charity)	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	2	1
Sublimation (Enables to understand the underlying reasons for the suffering)	0	4	6	0	2	9	0	4	4	0	1	2	0	6	2	0	0	0

The insights generated in the beginning of this chapter regarding the influence of news sources in framing the news stories as well as deciding the typology of the news stories explain the reason why all the newspapers constructed more stories of

‘pamphleteering’. The aesthetic quality of pamphleteering makes the readers to empathise with the victims and denounce the evil doers. This political denunciation often made by human rights organisations, humanitarian organisations and civil society provide resources for judgement that enable readers to decide where they stand with respect to the political dilemma of condemning the evil doers. As already evident in the discussion in this chapter and the previous chapter, given the lack of access to the war zone, it was the information received from the human rights organisations and humanitarian organisations that often served as the source of HRJ frames. Whenever the violence was overblown, human rights organisations such as Amnesty International, International Crisis Group and Human Rights Watch issued statements condemning both sides with strong words and provided information of the attacks on hospitals, no fire zones and civilian causality. This is the reason why ‘pamphleteering’ is much more visible than the other two types of aesthetic quality news stories.

Meanwhile, the very low number of sublimation and philanthropy show how the lack of access to the war zone affected the news coverage. Understandably, the failure to construct the reality of the humanitarian crisis, in terms of categorical realism and ideological realism caused by the lack of access to the war zone seems to have played a significant role to suppress the sublimation in the news stories. Because, the characteristics of categorical realism and ideological realism, as observed already are very much important for readers to make an informed decision to study the distance suffering in depth and to understand the conflict.

As it was in the case of the construction of realism as well as the meaning making, the lack of access to the war zone largely affected the construction of sublimation in the newspapers. The negative impact on creating HRJ frames as well as emergency typology of news stories as a result of the absence of raw images and information from the war zone was revealed already in this chapter. Particularly, it was evident in the analysis of how it affected the construction of empathetic critical frame and diagnostic reporting of HRJ. It was also explained in chapter 4 of this thesis, how the practice of HRJ especially with its empathetic critical frame and diagnostic reporting can facilitate the function of the ‘Trio Diagram’ of Parlevliet’s Iceberg metaphor, Dugan’s nested paradigm model and R2P’ including Galtung’s triangle of violence. Because, as Shaw argues “it is when violence is allowed to canalise at will from the indirect cultural and structural forms of violence (positive peace) to the direct psychological violence (negative peace) that it becomes more

measurably biting and destructive, and that human rights journalism can be the effective alternative strand of journalism that can prevent this canalisation” (Shaw, 2012, p.20).

As evident in the analysis, the very low level representation of the sublimation type of aesthetic quality primarily caused by the lack of access to the war zone negatively impacted the coverage of the newspapers to construct more ‘empathy critical’ and ‘diagnostic reporting’ frames, and vice versa.

Up to now the multimodal analysis focused on the scrutiny of the different characteristics in the newspapers in their function of meaning making of the suffering. Now, the analysis attempts to focus on the difference that lies outside the newspapers of their meaning making, in order to illustrate the representation of space – time and agency in the news stories to investigate the extent they constructed discourse to incite action on the suffering.

Table 26 Typology of News Story vs. Space- Time (representation)

Typology of News story vs. Space –Time (Representation)																		
	Independent			Times			New York Times			Washington Post			Times of India			Hindu		
	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency
Communicative Properties																		
Singular Space-Time (An isolated place. a one off event restricts the	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No connectivity between the suffering & spectators	26	2	1	28	0	0	30	0	0	57	0	0	135	6	0	310	1	0
Hierarchy of place - victims of worthy places	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Concrete (suffering in the context of concrete physical space)	0	3	1	0	5	0	1	8	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	9	1
Specific (sufferings as unique by providing details of specific locations & person(s).	2	5	2	0	5	10	0	5	4	0	2	1	0	3	0	0	4	0
Multiple (shows sufferings as unique- details of specific	0	4	1	0	0	5	0	1	3	0	1	1	0	4	0	0	8	0
(Proposes a relationship of action between the readers & sufferers)	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0

The Table 26 above shows the large amount of ‘no connectivity between the suffering & spectators’ in the news stories as opposed to the concrete, specific, multiple and mobile chronotope of suffering. This is, because it was explicit throughout the analysis, and due to the large amount of the construction of adventure typology of news stories produced by the described reasons in the beginning of this chapter. As illustrated in chapter 5, other key features of constructing the adventure typology of news stories are ‘singular space –time’ and ‘hierarchy of place - victims of worthy places’. Interestingly, these two features are almost non-existent in the identified adventure typology of news stories. The reason why ‘singular space - time’ was non-existent in the news stories is despite this feature being an important consideration in defining the typology of news stories as explained by Lilie Chouliaraki, it is far as the case study of this thesis is concerned, the researcher found it

irrelevant to take into consideration in the multimodal analysis. It's because, as Lilie Chouliaraki explains singular space - time denotes an isolated place- a one off event that restricts the possibility of historicity (Chouliaraki, 2006, p.100). As per Chouliaraki, a singular space-time is when a story has been cut off from the chain of events in which it participates and is presented as a random singularity. They restrict the possibility of representing the events in terms of their historicity and their future implications (Ibid).

Since this study by its selection investigates the newspapers coverage of the described particular incident over a certain period of time, all its news stories are necessarily connected in a chain of events and involved in historicity. Since this is an analysis of a series of news stories published in the newspapers, as Van Dijk explains, it creates a mental model, which is a subjective representation of the events or situation that discourse is about. That is, as Van Dijk puts it, "understanding text or talk not only involves constructing a mental representation of its (intentional) 'meaning', but also ultimately, a mental representation of its (extensional) 'referent' as the participants subjectively define it by constructing a mental model for it" (2006, p.169).

Although, Chouliaraki's 'Multimodal Discourse Analysis' did not incorporate Van Dijk's mental model in her analysis of space- time representation, it seems to be a better fit regarding the analysis of a particular event over a certain period of time, as the construction of mental modal necessarily provides a historicity. For example, as Chouliaraki illustrates, the usage of dots on map creates 'devoid of temporality', but if the event is connected in a process of coverage, then it does create the effect of 'temporality'. This is the reason why, although there were few exceptions, all the news stories published in the newspapers between 8th September, 2008 and 21st May, 2009 were assumed not expressing singular-space time representation, and this is the reason why the Table 26 above does not contain any 'singular-space time representation'.

Similarly, as explained above, the nature of the case study analysis, which involves the distant suffering of a particular community of a particular incident does not create any room for communitarian logic, and therefore it was assumed that all the news stories published were free of 'hierarchy of place'. This is the reason why the table 26 above does not show any 'hierarchy of place'.

Meanwhile, as the Table 26 shows, among the four types of chronotope of suffering, mobile, which connects the contexts of safety zones and danger zones to propose a specific relationship of action between the readers and victims, is eclipsed, in all the newspapers. Understandably, this is because of the absence of the raw images and information caused by the lack of access to the war zone that affected the live experience of the distant suffering in a manner to block the action on the suffering on the part of the readers. In addition, although showing lower representation, the other chronotope of suffering such as concrete, specific and multiple are disproportionately constructed, without showing any particular trend in and among the newspapers. Meanwhile, as observed earlier, the representation of concrete, specific and multiple chronotope seem to be proportional to the low degree of the construction of adventure typology of news stories in the Indian newspapers and *The Washington Post* for the described reasons.

The construction of the chronotope of suffering such as concrete, specific and multiple, as a result of the manifestation of emergency typology news, does indicate that although in lower number, the UK and the US newspapers show difference in the degree of spatiotemporal complexity of the suffering. As shown in the Table 16 above, among the emergency typology of news stories published in *The Independent*, there are 4 articles that express concreteness and show the concrete context of suffering as a physical space. As emphasised already, in lower number, this disproportionately constructed chronotope of suffering show how the newspapers presented the emergency typology of news stories with not one single reality of suffering but multiple realities relevant to the suffering. Explicitly, the reason for this disproportionately constructed chronotope of suffering can be connected to the lack of access to the war zone and other described reasons in the previous and current chapter that influenced the construction of the typology of news stories.

Next to the mobile type of chronotope, as revealed in the above discussion, the representation of concrete is suppressed in the news stories. This is because, as explained in chapter 2, the nature of the humanitarian crisis that was subjected to the analysis in this thesis, is not only a phase of a protracted conflict which lasted more than thirty years, but the particular phase that has several sub-phases. This complex nature of the humanitarian crisis connected to multiple contexts and actors possibly would have made the journalists to construct the news stories with a historicity and multiple physical contexts of suffering, and thus suppressing the scenarios for concrete and increasing the scenarios for multiple.

However, there is also certain number of specific type of chronotope of suffering in the newspapers, resulted by focusing on some specific locations with the elaboration of specific properties and individualisation of the victim as a unique person such as the ‘attacks in no fire zone’, ‘bombing on hospital’, and ‘mass exodus’.

Despite the representation of concrete, specific and multiple types of chronotope of suffering, as revealed in the analysis, the mobile type of chronotope, which has the ability of connecting the contexts of safety zones and danger zones to propose a specific relationship of action between the readers and victims, is very much suppressed in the newspapers. This sheds light on understanding the nature of the news stories in terms of their power to establish a cosmopolitan consciousness of the suffering. Against this backdrop, the forthcoming discussion endeavours to understand the capacity of the news stories in terms of their action on suffering in connection with the agency of the victims as well as the persecutors and benefactors.

As the Table 27 below shows, majority of the news stories failed to create agency (action on suffering) due to the lack of agora and theatre function. Void of agency and lack of agora & theatre are two sides of the same coins, and therefore the Table 27 below shows equal representation of them in the news stories.

Table 27 Typology of News Story vs. Agency (Orientation)

Typology of News story" vs. Agency (Orientation)															
	Independent			Times			New York Times			Washington Post			Times of India		
	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency	Adventure	S-Emergency	Emergency
Communicative Properties															
Void of Agency (Neither empathy nor denunciation, annihilation of the sufferer)	28	0	0	29	0	0	30	0	0	57	0	0	135	0	0
Lack of Agora & Theatre	28	0	0	29	0	0	30	0	0	57	0	0	135	0	0
Hierarchy of human lives- worthy/ unworthy victims (void of agents)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Agora (humanization of the sufferers- active sufferers)	0	4	4	0	2	11	0	3	7	0	2	3	0	5	1
Theatre (communicates the reality of suffering- active Persecutors & Benefactors)	0	12	7	0	9	14	1	13	8	0	3	3	0	13	2

As already explained, this study is all about the analysis of a specific humanitarian crisis over a certain period of time, hierarchy of human lives is almost obscured. Nevertheless, some of the news stories did portray hierarchy of human lives in their news stories. This is because, given the complete lack of access to the war zone, civilian casualties resulted as a result of the LTTE (suicide) attacks in the government controlled areas, received enormous attention of the news-hungry journalists, who were stationed in Sri Lanka to cover the humanitarian crisis. Due to the lack of access to the war zone, the victims in the war zone were ignored and treated as unworthy victims. Nevertheless, it must be underlined that this

difference in hierarchy of human lives is between the people who live outside the war zone and those who live inside the war zone in Sri Lanka, primarily caused by the lack of access to the warzone.

Also, as the Table 27 shows, there is a considerable difference between the representation of agora and theatre in the news stories. As observed earlier, agora is about the humanization of the sufferers to confer power to the sufferers in the news reports, so that they are able to provoke the readers to speak and act on their suffering. *The Independent* has 8 news stories, which have agora: *The Times* 17, *The New York Times* 9, *The Washington Post* 6, *The Times of India* 6 and *The Hindu* 2. Meanwhile, most of the news stories identified as emergency typology of news stories consist of theatre, in which suffering is mediated by the social relationships, and thus the agency is galvanised by the benefactor and persecutor (symbolic figures) who communicate the reality of distant suffering. In its total news stories, *The Independent* has 19 theatrical orientations: *The Times* 27, *The New York Times* 21, *The Washington Post* 8, *The Times of India* 16 and *The Hindu* 21. Understandably, the lack of access to the war zone, negatively affected the construction of the agora orientation in the news stories, as the journalists were unable to humanise the sufferers by making them active through raw images and information. On the other hand, the journalists who were prevented from entering the war zone were necessarily depended on the humanitarian, human rights organisations and civil society organisations such as the Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and International Red Cross to report about the suffering in the war zone. This is the reason why most of the emergency typology of news stories is theatrical oriented (Chouliaraki, 2006, p. 88).

The agency of readers to engage in public speech about the suffering depends on the humanisation of victims, because agora enables the readers to speak out about the suffering they are reading as the victims are construed as being like them, in which the victim gets the power to do something or say something about their condition (ibid, p.89). Whereas, as highlighted already, the agency in theatre depends on the orchestration of both benefactor and prosecutor's action who connect the reality of distant suffering to the readers' private feelings vis-à-vis the tragedy/crisis they are reading (ibid, p.90).

As we have seen in the analysis, the newspapers to a considerable extent composed the action of benefactors such as Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and International Red Cross, persecutors such as the Sri Lankan government, its military and

the LTTE. Although, the active role of the benefactors and persecutors would have enabled the connection of the reality of the humanitarian crisis to the readers, the vacuum of the victims' communication with the readers undermines the establishment of *prima facie* case of the humanitarian crisis, because it is the sufferer's direct communication that plays an important role in making the readers to understand the suffering of the victims without any bias and in an objective manner. Although, true impartiality is not possible, as the news construction is depended on the orchestration of the news sources given, the various socio, economic, political and cultural constrains, the impartiality declared in the agora is possible within the concept of moral obligation informed by the critical constructivist theory, which consciousness the process by which journalists' consciousness was constructed. This is where the power of 'citizen journalism' as explained by Allan (2013) could have constructed "a sense of shared humanity" with "its capacity to bear witness to human suffering" (Allan et al., 2007, p. 387) and enabled the international press to produce more emergency typology news stories to enable action on the suffering. Nevertheless, as revealed in the analysis, it appears that the discourse of the humanitarian crisis of Sri Lanka in the international press was not configured by the practice of citizen journalism nor was there enough space for the practice of it during the crisis. As highlighted in chapter 6, this is a subject that could be undertaken for future research purposes.

Hence, on the basis of the results shown in Table 27 above, it can be said that the action on suffering is compromised by inadequate construction of agora in the emergency type of news stories, despite the considerable amount of theatrical orientation.

7.3 Conclusion

This study in its first section found that the international press failed to play its watchdog role to expose the human rights violations and mass atrocity crimes that took place during the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka, and thus it failed to draw the attention of the global state actors to take action on the distant suffering. The 'two dimensional framing processes conditioned by the editorial policy and the news sources, did not enable the international press to practice HRJ to a satisfactory level in terms of exposing the human rights violations and establishing a *prima facie* case was the primary cause to this failure.

The research findings and analysis have revealed the overall failure of the international newspapers to create awareness of the crisis and drawing the attention of the international community towards the mass atrocity crimes in terms of human rights based news

coverage as well as in terms of the total number of news coverage during the last phase of the war.

This chapter also in its second section articulated multimodal discourse analysis to further answer the 2nd research question. The analysis highlighted the nature of the realism and meaning making of HRJ stories of the newspapers, primarily influenced by the lack of access to the war zone. Although all the UK and the US newspapers, except *The Washington Post*, which constructed perceptual realism (facticity) and indexical meaning to a significant extent, but failed to construct fair number of categorical (emotion) and ideological realism (justice) as well as iconic and symbolic meanings in their news stories, revealing the impotent nature of them to create urgency and immediacy of the humanitarian crisis.

In terms of the aesthetic quality, the emergency typology of news stories constructed by the newspapers largely contained pamphleteering' than other types: philanthropy and sublimation. The very low level representation of the sublimation type of aesthetic quality caused by the lack of access to the war zone negatively impacted the coverage of the newspapers to construct more 'empathy critical' and 'diagnostic reporting' frames, and vice versa, and thus limiting the chances of the readers to make an informed decision to understand the distant suffering in depth and its underlying causes. This resulted in serious undermining of the ability of the (emergency) news typology of stories to create cosmopolitan emotions and aesthetic impact. Space-time and agency analysis of the multimodal discourse analysis showed how the access to war zone weakened the ability of the emergency typology of news stories to create action within the R2P framework by creating readers' proximity to suffering.

Chapter 8: Analysis of the Impediments to Journalists' Reporting of the Crisis

8.0 Introduction

In Chapters 6 and 7 we discussed the answers of the first two research questions that entirely covered the extent, nature and effects of the international press of the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka within the integrated framework of Frame Analysis and Multimodal Discourse Analysis. As highlighted in chapters 6 and 7, some of the insights that generated during the course of the investigative process revolved around the access to the war zone, editorial position of the newspapers, news sources, and the encountered difficulties therein. These insights required further testing with supplementary evidences from the journalists, who visited Sri Lanka during the crisis to gather information. In addition to the reasons that were identified in chapter 6 and 7, this study also wanted to explore if there were any other the difficulties, challenges and problems that were faced by the journalists in their course of reporting the humanitarian crisis which will answer the 3rd research question: *What are the challenges that confronted the journalists in the course of their reporting?*

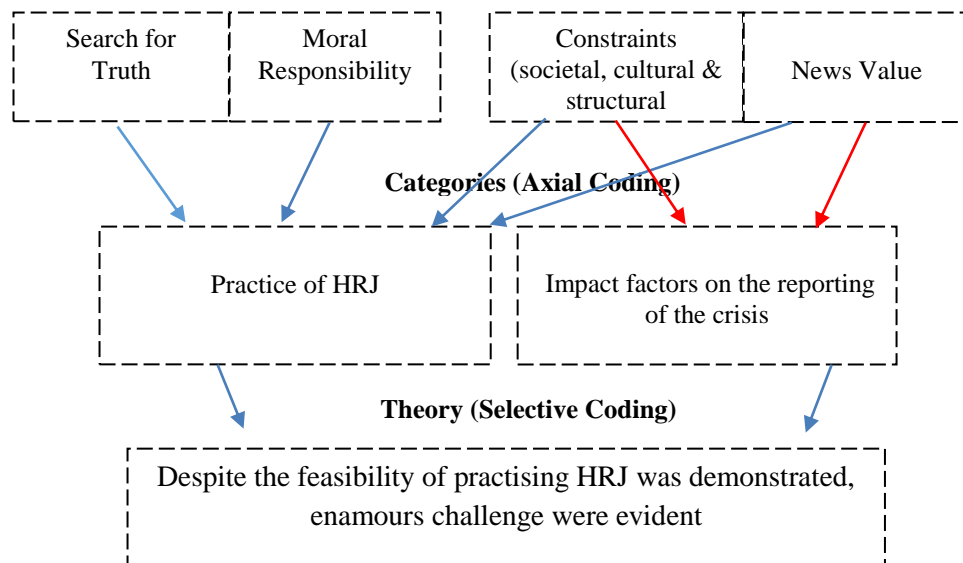
To identify the answers, as explained in chapter 5, interviews were conducted with the foreign correspondents who have been to Sri Lanka, before, during and after the humanitarian crisis. To provide an in-depth historical context and logical understanding of the difficulties associated with the news coverage, this study interviewed not only the journalists who covered the humanitarian crisis, but also the journalists who have been to Sri Lanka as foreign correspondents immediate, before and after the end of the crisis.

The discussion below that focusses on the 3rd research question in this chapter is organised around the categories identified in the coding of the interview data of the Grounded Theory (GT) illustrated below.

Illustration 4 Coding for GT

Comparing similar labelled incidents into Phenomena (Examples of participants' words)	Properties	Open Code (Phenomena)
we are a paper which has headquarters in Chennai, in Tamil Nadu; our policy tallied with the policy of the Government of India as well; there was a convergence of interest, The Hindu had a special interest; A country that has had three decades of civil war was suddenly and finally in an end game situation; it was both an important and fascinating story to tell with serious human consequences; British media covered Sri Lankan war quite a lot as a former colonial administrator of Sri Lanka; always a competition with other news stories; there was no specific interest apart from news worthiness; relatively a small country; We have a large Tamil readership, who're follow very keenly what's going on in that country	Cultural proximity; Continuity; geopolitical influence; drama, negativity; consonance	News Value
military officer following me and listening to interviews; banned from visiting Sri Lanka; refused media visas; corroborating reports was often difficult; lack of access to war zone; news organisations was their only source of information; access to information; we were worried about the CID; under surveillance; government narrative creeps it; financial situation; we were followed; security of the local sources; it was a "he said" – "she said" sort of reporting; safety and cost, was concerned for the safety of my staff; I was the mother of a 3 month old baby when I went to SL; less and less budget and less and less resources; my biggest constraint was I wasn't physically there; journalists were often hunted down, because some restrictions they attach to and the cultural and structural factors; I was the only print journalist in the world who was given access; our sources were discredited by the government; time, money and access; terrorist label; extraordinary financial & resource pressure; extra advertising spaces being sold; whims of a section editor that day;	legal & extra- legal means of media suppression; fear of safety & security; propaganda; concerns about family; financial & resources constrains; impact of 'war on terror' rhetoric; editorial stand on the war	Constrains (socio, economic, political, and cultural)
Search for objectivity means search for truth ;It's a process and in this process you become aware of the truth; failure to engage allows the lazy journalism; took the side of truth and justice; goal was to report the truth of what was actually happening; not wanting to over violate my own reporting objectivity; liberal pro human rights view; spoke to as many people & organisations ; role is to report the truth; public exposure is crucial; nothing will improve unless people know what's going on; journalism should be objective & impartial; , journalism should try and speak truth; they are the watchdogs;	Objectivity as a journalistic norm; objectivity as a tool for finding the truth;	Search for Truth
I care a lot about human rights; very concerned about justice and justice for oppressed people; my duty as a human being to try and find out about it; desire to want to highlight things that I feel are not being covered enough; I really wanted to write about these things; I don't have problem with "objectivity", my objection is to "impartiality"; you have to be proactive in preventing human rights violations; as honestly as I could; highlight cases of human rights abuses;	emphasis on journalists' conscious reporting; media - human rights nexus; desire for Human Rights	Moral Responsibility

Phenomena (Open Coding)



8.1 Impact of crisis reporting

As shown in the above open coding in the illustration 5, two properties namely 'constraints' and 'news values' through the axial coding process forms the category of 'Impact of crisis reporting'. The insights gathered from the interview data suggest that the journalists who went to Sri Lanka as well as the journalists who covered the crisis faced enormous challenges and difficulties. These challenges range from cultural to political to economic factors, furthermore to news values that line with Galtung and Ruge's (1965) news value to Chomsky's (1988) five general 'filters' in his propaganda theory to Hanitzsch's structure constraints which were explained in chapter 6.

The major problem that was encountered by the journalists as they reveal was the lack of access to the war zone. As discussed the analysis in chapter 6 and 7 also found how the lack of access to the war zone negatively affected the crisis reporting in terms of meaning making, representation (space- time) and orientation (agency). All the correspondents who reported the humanitarian crisis complained that they were prevented from entering the war zone except *The Hindu* correspondent Muralidhar Reddy⁵, who said:

As a Hindu correspondent, my job was not that difficult I must confess. There was a convergence of interest between what the Sri Lankan government was wanting to do and what the Hindu as a newspaper and editorial policy believed in. As far as access is concerned, towards the end I was the only print journalist in the world who was given access. I was in that zone for about 13 days.

This testimony of *The Hindu* correspondent Muralidhar Reddy validates the argument highlighted in chapter 6. As per the content analysis statistics in Table 4, while all the other 5 newspapers filed no news stories, *The Hindu* exceptionally filed 37 news stories and it was presumed that *The Hindu* must have been granted a special access to the war zone.

While this being the case for *The Hindu*, as per the other Indian newspaper, *The Times of India* they did not have access to the war zone. Its foreign correspondent K.Vengatramanan⁶, who was in Sri Lanka during the crisis, admitted that he did not have access to the war zone. Another foreign correspondent P. K. Balachandran from a leading Indian newspaper *The Hindustan Times*, who covered the crisis from Sri Lanka, also said lack of access to the war zone was his main constrain in covering the war. However information regarding *The Hindustan Times* was not taken into consideration in this study

⁵Mr. Muralidhar Reddy was interviewed face to face at his residence in New Delhi in India on 25 June 2016.

⁶ Mr. K.Vengatramanan was interviewed face to face at his residence in Chennai in India on 10 June 2016.

It discloses that despite the complete shut off from the outside world for several months until the war over, *The Hindu* had the special privilege of entering the war zone, because according to its correspondent Muralidhar Reddy, there was a convergence of interest between the Sri Lankan government and the editorial position of *The Hindu*.

Given the editorial policy of *The Hindu*, I did not face any constraints from the government of Sri Lanka side. First of all our access into the zone where the actual fighting was taking place was facilitated by the government of Sri Lanka, by the Sri Lankan security forces. Muralidhar Reddy confesses.

Moreover, *The Hindu*'s previous foreign correspondence to Sri Lanka before the humanitarian crisis with Ms. Nirupama Subramanian⁷, too acknowledged the policy level support and the close connection between *The Hindu* leadership and the Sri Lankan government during the crisis. To quote Nirupama Subramanian, "The Hindu was in a unique position to cover the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, because of its access to the leadership in Sri Lanka at that time". R.K. Radhakrishnan⁸, who was also *The Hindu's* earlier foreign correspondent to Sri Lanka before the crisis, also admits the leadership level connection between the Sri Lankan government and *The Hindu*.

Meanwhile, as far as the foreign correspondents of the UK, US and the other countries are concerned, the complete denial of access to the war zone was the major constraint among many other constraints. To quote Ravi Nessman⁹ of the Associated Press (AP), who has covered and led award-winning news stories in Asia, the Middle East, Africa and the United States and whose reports of the humanitarian crisis from Sri Lanka was largely published in *The Washington Post* and other UK and the US newspapers:

We were not allowed inside the war zone. The war zone was shut off. At a certain point we were further and further going away from the war zone. There was no access at all. It became more and more difficult to find out what was actually happening in the war zone.

The Hindu's former correspondent V.S.Sambandan¹⁰, who was based in Sri Lanka before the humanitarian crisis also said access to the war zone was a major problem that he faced.

⁷ Ms. Nirupama Subramanian, who is currently the Bureau In charge of the *Indian Express* Chandigarh Edition, was interviewed face to face at her office on 22 June 2016.

⁸ Mr. R.K. Radhakrishnan was interviewed face-to-face at *The Hindu*'s headquarters in Chennai on 11 June 2016.

⁹ Mr. Ravi Nessman, who is based in the US, was interviewed on skype on 2 September 2016.

¹⁰ Mr. V.S Sambandan was interviewed face to face at *The Hindu*'s headquarters in Chennai on 11 July 2016.

He quoted “access to the war zone was the major constrain. It was the same scenario even during the peace time. Over a period of time, the only probable difficulty that I had was physical access to areas”.

Although *The Independent's* correspondent Jerome Taylor¹¹, from the UK who was not physically in Sri Lanka but covered the crisis from the UK is on the opinion that the lack of access to the war zone was the major factor that affected the media from reporting the crisis. Johan Mikaelsson¹², who was also not physically in Sri Lanka but is one of the Journalist who was covering the Sri Lankan conflict since 2009 for the Swedish Newspapers said, the access to first-hand sources within the government and the LTTE were sometimes a problem, as access to civilians living in the LTTE-controlled areas was restricted. Freelance journalist Taylor Dibbert¹³ who is based in the US and has been covering the issues since the end of war in 2009 also said that one of the main problems that he was faced with was the lack of media access at the end of the war period. Almost all the other journalists who were interviewed expressed similar views.

As discussed in chapter 7, the failure to construct the reality of the humanitarian crisis, in terms of categorical and ideological realism caused by the lack of access to the war zone was assumed to have played a significant role to suppress the sublimation in the news stories. It was also highlighted in chapter 7, as to how the lack of access to the war zone, negatively affected the construction of the agora orientation in the news stories, as the journalists were unable to humanise the victims by making them active through raw images and information.

Elucidating the negative impact caused by the lack of access during his reporting, AP correspondent Ravi Nessman said it affected the reporting by bringing in visual images and raw information:

It did have a huge impact. When people think of war or conflict, they think of photographs. When you think of the war in Vietnam, you think of the visuals of Napalm bombing. When you think of Tiananmen Square, you think of the student with a flower who stood in front of a column of tanks. When you think of some incidents you read, then you necessarily think of these kinds of iconic images. There are no iconic images that really speak of the war zone suffering in Sri Lanka, to really show what was happening in there. The boy who was injured by the attacks in

¹¹ Mr. Jerome Taylor, who is currently based in Thailand, was interviewed on WhatsApp on 2 September 2016.

¹² Mr. Johan Mikaelsson, who is based in Sweden, was interviewee via email on 04 October 2016.

¹³ Mr. Taylor Dibbert was interviewed on Skype on 31 July 2016.

the Syrian conflict made a huge impact. These kinds of images disturb the emotion and connect you to the story.

The Independent journalist Jerome Taylor too expressed a similar view saying that the government's restriction to access the front line resulted with only fewer images in the news stories. He quoted:

In many conflicts, government's' restrictions on media access to the frontlines results in less images in the stories. Visuals are as important as the words of the stories in deciding often how prominent the story would run. You have got a powerful story with no picture; it's not going to run on the front.

Moreover, as uncovered during the interview with the journalists the Sri Lankan government in addition to restricting the access to the war zone, used legal and extra legal means to control the journalists' work, and thereby controlled the discourse of the humanitarian crisis. Those include intimidation, creating fear or causing harm to news sources, refusing visa, manipulation and misinformation.

Almost all the journalists who were interviewed were of the opinion that they had to face some form of threats from the authorities and it affected their reporting, whilst they were in Sri Lanka either during, before or after the crisis. They said the freedom of the media was under severe threat throughout the conflict period.

Freelance journalist Emanuel¹⁴ Stoakes, who is based in New Zealand, said even after the end of the war he faced difficulties from the CID and that he was questioned by them about his dealings in Sri Lanka. Freelance journalist Taylor Dibbert, who was in Sri Lanka between 2011 and 2014, said that his phone was monitored all the time and he had no idea if his email correspondence was monitored too. According to the journalists, the practice of intimidating the media had been in existence in Sri Lanka even before the crisis commenced. Swedish journalist Johan Mikaelsson was among one of the journalists who felt that he was under surveillance during the pre-crisis period when he residing in Sri Lanka. . He said that he was aware of the fact that the local journalists in Sri Lanka who tried to tell the truth about the country were often hunted down and killed. He said there were few instances where some sort of near violent incidents involved around him in 1997 and 1999. S.Murarai of *The Deccan Herald* said he was a suspect in the eyes of Colombo, when he covered the conflict before the crisis. Explaining the threats she faced while reporting in Sri Lanka, *The Hindu's* former correspondent Nirupama Subramaniyan said

¹⁴ Mr. Emanuel Stoakes was interviewed via skype on 31 August 2016.

she had threats coming at her and was detained and questioned in 1995 for a few hours for carrying a map. Also, she said her house was raided in 1999, for receiving a fax from LTTE.

It is interesting to note that although almost all the former correspondents of *The Hindu* complained about the threats, intimidation and difficulties they faced while reporting in Sri Lanka, *The Hindu's* Muralidhar Reddy, who covered the crisis did not mention any such threats and intimidation from the government. Explicitly, this is because he openly acknowledged that his job was not difficult in Sri Lanka, as it was facilitated by the Sri Lankan government and the military.

However, for AP journalist Ravi Nessman, the suppression of media through legal and extra legal means seriously affected his reporting. As he said:

We ourselves came under heavy criticism. Local journalists were repeatedly attacked, killed in streets, which led to a climate of fear. The feeling of danger was in the back of your head. We used to get phone calls to our office from government officials, who would tell staff of mine that I need to stop whatever I was reporting or I will not be working anymore in the country. In the end, they refused to renew my visa and forced me out of the country.

Journalists were worried not only about the direct threats to them, but also about the safety of their local sources. They said this caused them moral/ethical conflicts on safety in terms of their news reporting and interaction with their local news sources. Former *BBC* correspondent Francis Harrison said she was concerned about the safety of her staff on a number of occasions. This also was the concern of freelance journalist Emanuel Stoakes and Taylor Dibbert, even after the end of the war. Emanuel Stoakes said he was worried that something would happen to the guy who accompanied him during his travel in Sri Lanka as him being a foreigner drew attention. Taylor Dibbert said that he couldn't visit certain places because his appearance would draw attention.

Refusing the media applicants' visa was a tactic of the successive Sri Lankan government to control the workings of the international press throughout the conflict. This was most evident during the humanitarian crisis. Swedish journalist Johan Mikaelsson said he was granted visa in the year 1999, however he said that his visa applications were refused at two occasions due to the reason that portrayed the real situation of the conflict.

At many occasions, a number of media organisations including *The Independent* failed to secure visas to travel to Sri Lanka to cover the crisis despite repeated requests. As Ravi Nessman mentioned above, he was forced to leave Sri Lanka during the course of reporting as the government refused to extend the visa. Not only during the crisis, but even after the war ended, the government continued to practise this controlling measure. According to Ben Doherty¹⁵ of *The Guardian (Australia)*, after initially being granted media visa later it was denied and then ultimately he was banned from visiting Sri Lanka following the CHOGM Conference which was held in November 2013.

On the other hand, as highlighted in chapter 6, the ban on journalists to enter the war zone made them look for information towards the humanitarians, human rights organisations and civil society organisations to gather information. As all reports were based on the information gathered from those types of organisations most of the emergency typology of news stories identified in the US and the UK newspapers were theatrical oriented than agora oriented.

Despite the fact unearthed in chapter 6 and 7 that the Indian newspapers failed to construe HRJ stories and emergency typology of stories, the Indian foreign correspondents said that they used the information provided by the human rights and humanitarian organisations to some extent.

To some extent, we did make use of statements by humanitarian organizations, yes. I think ICRC or Peace groups in Colombo and UN, wherever it was possible. says The Times of India correspondent K.Vengatramanan.

Also, *The Hindu* correspondent Muralidhar Reddy says he obtained information from the UN and ICRC. As observed in chapter 6, some amount of HRJ stories were apparent in the news reports of the Indian newspapers, as a result of these human face oriented sources. Nevertheless, in the multimodal analysis, not all the HRJ stories were turned into emergency as their aesthetic qualities were compromised by the layout and presentation of these news stories in these newspapers, in line with the editorial policy. How the editorial policy of the Indian newspapers, as identified in chapter 6 and 7 guided the journalists' reporting will be discussed in the impending section.

¹⁵ Mr. Ben Doherty was interviewed via email on 25 August 2016.

In addition to the statements from the human rights and humanitarian organisations, AP correspondent Ravi Nessman said they had their own sources through whom they were able to get some information. However, he expressed frustration that the Sri Lankan government worked hard to discredit the information they received from their own sources. To quote Ravi Nessman,

We had our own sources that we had made over the years. They provided reliable information, but the government tried hard to discredit the information. Whatever the information they provided we corroborated the people up there, who were not LTTE. There were some international people. But the government worked extremely hard to convince me that the information I received from some sources were nonexistence. Our sources were constantly discredited by the government.

Meanwhile, *The Independent* correspondent Jerome Taylor, who was not physically present in Sri Lanka, said that verifying the information was the most challenging issue. “I guess, access for me but that wasn't necessarily anyone's fault and then it was verification. Verification of data that was probably the most pressing issue”. He says.

The Hindustan Times correspondent P.K. Balachandran and *The Hindu* former correspondent R.K Radhakrishnan are also on the view that the war information was not verified independently.

No journalist stationed in Sri Lanka was in a position to do anything at the time war was going on. What was a fact or not a fact could not be ascertained at that time. Says Balachandran.

While, Jerome Taylor's and Balachandran's testimonies underline the consequence of the lack of access to the war zone, they do highlight the propaganda perpetrated by the parties involved in the war in verifying the information. Ravi Nessman's view further validates this view: *This is a war you had no idea of what was happening. Someone is lying or both sides may be lying, but we don't know.*

As explained in chapter 3, for Carruthers, propaganda is a process of information-spreading through manipulation, distortion, emphasis and omission of the known facts to influence the general public to trust certain interpretations or people (Carruthers, 2000, p.81). Branding the parties to conflict is one aspect of the “black and white” framing adopted by conventional war reporting. For example, during the 2003 Iraqi war, Saddam's forces were continuously branded “insurgents” or “terrorists” (Lynch, 2008(a), p.20). As AP correspondent Ravi Nessman's testimony goes parallel to this viewpoint.

One of the other difficulties is that it was impossible to trust what other side was saying. The government discredited the LTTE by branding them as a brutal terrorist organisation and how can you trust them. But the information provided by the government in many instances was clearly not true, and also the government utterly denying the information provided by the LTTE.

As Ravi Nessman clarified by discrediting the LTTE by branding them as a brutal terrorist organisation, the Sri Lankan government questioned him as to how he can trust the information provided by a terrorist organisation. Meanwhile, Ravi Nessman confesses that information provided by the government in many instances was clearly not true.

While acknowledging that the terrorist label didn't consider him in terms of accessing information, *The Hindu* former correspondent V.S. Sambandan however said it was easier when the ban on LTTE was not there.

Swedish journalist Johan Mikaelsson, who has been covering the Sri Lankan conflict since 1999, explains how he is able to overcome the propagandist nature of the material by critically evaluating the sources involved in the conflict. To quote Johan Mikaelsson,

I came to know what type of written information was reliable, and the critical evaluation of sources was of course a central thing. At the same time, it was difficult to find out what were true stories about the LTTE and the violence they used on civilians. Some of the stories that were critical towards the LTTE had its roots in government propaganda and information from the armed Tamil groups that were opposed to the Tigers and fought alongside the army. Journalists who didn't have much experience in Sri Lanka might have swallowed the bait and used the information without scrutinizing it in a proper way.

As journalists revealed besides the manipulation, distortion and omission of the facts by both parties, the terrorist label was used to discredit the information for the LTTE by the government. Moreover, some journalists acknowledged the fact that the 'terrorist label on LTTE' influenced their reporting. This view was dominant among the Indian journalists, while, some correspondents from other countries said they were not influenced by the terrorist label.

Acknowledging the terrorist label on the LTTE influenced *The Hindu's* foreign correspondent Muralidhar Reddy's reporting of the crisis, and he said that this was the policy of *The Hindu* as well as the governments of India and Sri Lanka. *The Hindu's* former correspondent Nirupama Subramaniyan too expressed a similar view saying that she genuinely believes that the terrorist tag was suited for the LTTE.

You could say that I was very influenced by the Rajiv Gandhi assassination. As every Indian, I carried that in my reporting. I carried that- if at all there was an overarching influence on me. Confesses Nirupama Subramaniyan.

India's Deccan Herald's Associate Editor S Murari¹⁶, who has been to Sri Lanka several times to cover the conflict expresses a similar opinion as of Nirupama Subramaniyan saying *the LTTE deserved to be banned as a terrorist organisation*.

Former BBC correspondent to Sri Lanka Frances Harrison¹⁷ believes that the terrorist label influenced her reporting. However, she said she overcame the stigma of the terrorist label.

Yes. I think it's inevitable and it influences the thinking of the people you are broadcasting to as well and you have to be conscious of that. But I am one of the rare people who spent a lot of time with the LTTE so I hope at some level I overcame the stigma of the terrorist label. She says.

Swedish journalist Johan Mikaelsson said this had to be mentioned as it was a fact that the LTTE was being labelled a terrorist organisation by various countries and it was banned.

Expressing the view that "terrorist" label did not change the way he reported what happened, Callum Macrae¹⁸ of Britain's Channel-4 said,

The "terrorist" label - broadly accepted by the international community – was the turning point. It was, possibly, the most important and ultimately powerful weapon the LTTE faced. It was used as a weapon to prevent the possibility of peace and then subsequently it was used by Rajapaksa to hitch a ride on the west's "War on Terror" (doubly ironic given his subsequent posturing as an "anti-imperialist"). Of course the west's criticism of his record, given their own, was the third irony.

Meanwhile, The Times of India's K. Vengatramananan, US based freelance journalist Taylor Dibbert, *The Hindustan Times*'s P.K. Balachandran, The Guardian's (Australia) Ben Doherty, Freelance journalist Emanuel Stoakes, AP's Ravi Nessman and The Independent's Jerome Taylor said they were not influenced by the terrorist label.

As observed in the discussions, all the journalists expressed mixed opinions about the way the terrorist label influenced their reporting. Although *The Times of India*'s K. Vengatramananan is amongst those who said they were not influenced by the terrorist label, almost all the other Indian journalists of *The Hindu*, as they said, were largely

¹⁶ S Murari was interviewed via email on 01 July 2016.

¹⁷ Frances Harrison was interviewed by email on 05 October 2016.

¹⁸ Callum Macrae was interviewed via email on 25 October 2016.

influenced by the terrorist label. This is the reason why as shown in Table 10 in chapter 6, terrorism label is largely manifested in the news stories of *The Hindu* than any other newspapers.

This shows how the rhetoric on terrorism connected to the propaganda strategy which is used to elicit condemnation on the LTTE by attracting journalists particularly the Indian journalists emotionally as well as geopolitically, as observed above. It also shows how the Sri Lankan government managed to use the 'terrorist label on the LTTE' to make the (*The Hindu*) journalists to obtain their information. Although, the journalists from other countries said they were not influenced by the terrorist label, Table 10 in chapter 6 reveals that the UK and US newspapers too constructed some amount of terrorism frame in their news reporting. This does not necessarily mean that they were constructed by the journalists who denied influence by the terrorism label; however, it is possible that they could have been constructed by other staff members as revealed in the content analysis coding sheet (Appendix 4-7). Nevertheless, it does reveal the fact that the terrorist rhetoric influenced the news production in some way. This possibly would have happened as Johan Mikaelsson mentioned that legal label had to be touch based in their reports, as a result of misinformation, disinformation and false information of the propaganda strategies.

The Independent journalist Jerome Taylor described how they struggled with statements with propagandist nature during the conflict.

People would lie to you, people want to present their side of the story, and you have to find out where the middle ground is, which meant for instance when receiving kind of information from the LTTE side, for instance, we had to be careful about, "Can we verify that? Is this correct?" There were just so many problems during that, as there was with the Sri Lankan ministry of defense statement is claiming a whole bunch of things that we can't verify.

Underlining the propaganda nature of the statements, *The Times of India* correspondent K.Vengatramanan acknowledged the fact that their reporting was largely relied on government's narratives, given the situation that there was no access to the war zone.

The coverage was largely dependent of the government narrative. That's one major constraint. And secondly, it's not possible to cover something that is not happening before your eyes, except through the statements of the parties involved. It can give a sense that we agree with the government, but it's not so. Because this is how the government explains it. Explains Vengatramanan.

To give some examples, he said the military, during the last few months of the war came out with an interactive graphic material to provide a sense of the progress of the war, especially the movement of their forces and what they were achieving on ground, and thus he had to dependent on what they said.

The views expressed by the journalists above in turn underline how they worked under the influence of the propaganda strategies, particularly where they were subjected to manipulation of information through briefings (Hoijer, Nohrstedt and Ottosen, 2002, p.4–11). This also shows how the journalists in Sri Lanka had been subjected to Kempf's three turning points discussed in chapter 3. As Kempf argues these three turning points make journalists especially vulnerable to official propaganda (Kempf, 2003, p.70). The first of these turning points is mis coverage, which is the tradition of only reporting on conflicts that have already turned violent. This has been the case for almost all the foreign correspondents of the US and the UK newspapers. As the interviewed journalists pointed out they arrived in Sri Lanka for the first time with the aim of covering the latter part of the war in its final stage.

AP correspondent Ravi Nessman said he went to Sri Lanka in 2009 for the first time to report about the war. To quote him,

Before that I had covered the wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, the Israeli - Palestine conflict and Africa. When the opportunity to go to Sri Lanka came up, I didnt have any specific connection with Sri Lanka. Newspapers like the Washington Post and Times didn't have full time correspondents based in Sri Lanka. The international newspapers like Washington Post and Times used their South Asia correspondents based in India to cover the war in Sri Lanka. That means those journalists had less ability to spend time in covering the issues in Sri Lanka. Because they had to cover 1.3 billion people in India. At the same time, I do think they had an interest in Sri Lanka, there was major attack going on in Sri Lanka. At the time it was the most violent conflict. People were attracted to going there for news to report what was going there.

As highlighted in chapter 6, this also shows how the conflict reporting of a distant place is constrained by economic considerations (Hanitzsch, 2007b, p.5). Riegert and Johansson explained, nowadays, media organisations prefer to use “parachuting” correspondents, who fly off to different hot spots after the fighting has started so that they can minimise the expenses involved in covering the conflict. Such thinking by the media organisations has changed the trend, so that, in place of editorial concerns, accountants and budget restrictions could determine what foreign events correspondents cover on wars and

conflicts. With less experience, these journalists are “less likely to ask key questions of their sources, less likely to analyze the situation well, and more likely to be dependent on experts” (Riegert and Johansson, 2005, p.6). This is because of the economic reason as evident in the analysis of chapter 6, where The Washington Post along with other UK and US newspapers relied on the news agencies for its coverage of the crisis in Sri Lanka.

The second point of Kempf’s three turning points is the habit of interpreting conflicts as lose-win situations. For many journalists, as they revealed in the interview, the war in Sri Lanka was treated as an end game.

As *The Hindustan Times* correspondent P.K Balachandran said, the war was a fight to the finish and therefore both sides were desperate to defeat the other. *The Times of India* correspondent K. Vengatramanan said he felt that his newspaper was basically reporting about the military operations. He is also of the opinion that the magnitude of the final tragedy was not apparent to the Indian media at that time.

The responses of Jerome Taylor of *The Independent* further corroborates with the above views. To quote Jerome Taylor:

This was the culmination of three decades of fighting with some type of solution in sight. I’m not saying a solution that the editorial of the paper necessarily approved of, but it looked like the end game was nearing, so yes, it was a very important story to cover and one we wanted to devote time and resources to.

The final turning point of Kempf is journalists’ use of elites as sources. Given the lack of access to the war zone , it was underlined in the discussion under Table 9 in chapter 6 that the journalists would have been forced into a situation to practice uncritical reporting given the described conditions within which they would have operated.

As shown in Table 5, all the newspapers relied on elite sources such as the Sri Lankan government and its military for their news stories, and thus, it is very much likely that the newspapers would have relied on these sources to publish the news reports. Although, all the journalists said that they looked for information from other sources despite the governments regular briefings, they equally expressed how hard it was for them to verify the information. As revealed above they also acknowledged the fact that they necessarily had to depend on the government for information given the described situation of being banned and the censorship being monitored. This is because, as per Kempf’s third turning

point, the journalists had to turn towards elites as sources such as the Sri Lankan government and military for information. Furthermore, as revealed in Table 5 in chapter 6, this situation resulted in constructing more HWJ news stories from the elite sources, which was particularly true in the case of the Indian newspapers.

In addition to the described conditions in Sri Lanka, as McLaughlin says the power of official sources to influence the news agenda has increased with the decline in foreign bureaus and specialist correspondents. As a result, in situations of internal conflicts, international media tend to rely on elite sources and governments' officers for their news reporting. Also, increasingly inexperienced and freelance journalists are pushed to cover news. In the U.S., cut-backs have notably affected the foreign news. Between 1989 and 1996, foreign news coverage were declined by half (McLaughlin, 2002, p.187), as covering wars is still an expensive business, where foreign news bureaus have often been shut down. Instead, teams of reporters and photographers are flown into a war zone at the start of a war, and flown out as soon as the violence is over. This scenario is called parachute journalism. Thus, they often fail to identify latent conflicts and factors involved directly/ indirectly and the issues of justice, accountability, and reparation for grave crimes and gross violations against civilians. As underlined in the beginning of chapter 6, this explains the reason why the coverage of the newspapers in the US and the UK were very much poor in terms of the number of coverage. This is particularly true in the case of The Washington Post, in terms of its low number of coverage as well as the construction of more HWJ frames.

Kempf's three turning points not only revealed how they were affected but what and how the newspapers covered the war in Sri Lanka, by highlighting how they are steeped in the news values explained in chapter 3 and chapter 6.

On the other hand, the discussion also proved the fact of how the editorial policy of the newspapers played a key role in shaping the discourse of the news production. In chapter 6, it was mentioned how the two dimensional process, in which one dimension is decided by the editorial policy of the newspaper in accordance with the internal guidelines, and how the other is decided by the news sources. Furthermore, as explained, the news source is independently conditioned by the actors involved in a conflict/crisis/ war, and on the other, the frame is mediated between the editorial policy and the 'conditioned news sources'.

Explicably, this ‘two dimensional process’ of framing is subjected to the influence of various ideological, political, geographical and cultural contexts in which discourse is created, with different editorial stands in the US and UK newspapers as well as the Indian newspapers that constructed different news stories with different frames. This was very much apparent in the discussion of the interviews with the journalists. While *The Hindu* correspondent Muralidhar Reddy openly acknowledged the parallel policy with regard to the final war between the governments of India and Sri Lanka and *The Hindu* leadership, many other Indian journalists acknowledged that the terrorist label on the LTTE influenced their reporting given their own conceptions.

On the other hand, journalists from other countries in general voiced out that they were not influenced by the terrorist label. As Ravi Nessman said, they tried to cover both sides of what they were doing and did not favour one side or the other – but he said that he reported the horrible attacks on civilians by both sides. However, as far as *The Hindu* was concerned, its editorial policy seems to have greatly influenced its discourse production of the humanitarian crisis, in addition to the constraints associated with the news value and structural aspect. In other words, the neutral editorial stance of the US and the UK newspapers seem to have enabled its journalists to verify and understand the reality of the situation under the critical constructivist approach guided by ‘critical consciousnesses’. Thereby they were able to detach themselves from the world by conventionalizing to perceive and see how their working is influenced by the structural and other constraints described already. This process, as enlightened in chapter 6, 7 and 8 enabled the journalists with neutral stance with regard to the conflict to practice HRJ without jeopardising the ‘objectivity’ but with the moral responsibility evolved out of the ‘critical consciousness’. A good example to explain this argument can be related to Swedish Journalist’ Johan Mikaelsson’s viewpoint on tackling propaganda. To quote him again,

I came to know what type of written information was reliable, and the critical evaluation of sources was of course a central thing. At the same time, it was difficult to find out what were true stories about the LTTE and the violence they used on civilians. Some of the stories that were critical towards the LTTE had its roots in government propaganda and information from the armed Tamil groups that were opposed to the Tigers and fought alongside the army. Journalists who didn’t have much experience in Sri Lanka might have swallowed the bait and used the information without scrutinizing it in a proper way.

It is against this argument that the next section of this chapter moves into discuss the feasibility of practising HRJ.

8.2 Practice of HRJ

This discussion in this chapter as well as the findings in chapter 6 and 7 have highlighted a fact that practice of HRJ is possible without deviating from the notion of objectivity. However, there appears to be an epistemological difference in terms of the approach towards adhering to the notion of objectivity for the practice of HRJ. The literature review in this study in chapter 4 also highlighted the nature of the objectivity grounded in the critical constructivist theory for the practice of HRJ as opposed to the objectivist knowledge that was produced out of the positivist approach for the practice of conventional journalism or as Shaw's HWJ.

As evident in the analysis of chapter 6 and 7, there appeared to be a relativity between the editorial position of the newspapers and the detach aspect of the (HRJ) journalists within the epistemology of critical constructivism. Because as observed already the neutral stance of the editorial board of the US and UK newspapers enabled their journalists/newsroom to practice HRJ to a certain extent given the fact that this coverage as explained already was conditioned by some external factors such censorship and ban on the journalists.. The practice of HRJ was possible in the case of the US and UK newspapers, as explained in chapter 4, about the critical constructive epistemology. This enabled the journalists to understand and inform the socio, cultural, political, ethical and moral foundations of a crisis that possibly could have positioned the journalists of the UK and the US newspapers/newsroom to be guided by the moral responsibility. Moral obligation of an issue is not something that exists independently to be picked up by the journalists, instead it is an outcome of the enlightenment of different theories of critical approaches to “consciousness the process by which their consciousness was constructed” (Kincheloe, 1993, p 109). And, it is this moral responsibility created in fertile of the neutral editorial stand with regard to the crisis that enabled the UK and US journalists to practice HRJ, whereas as far as *The Hindu* was concerned the practised of HRJ was largely undermined by its editorial policy coupled with the structural constraints including the geopolitical implications.

Although, *The Times of India* correspondent K Vengatramanan disinclined to accept that his news construction of the crisis was influenced by editorial position as well as

geopolitically and ideologically, he acknowledged that he had to rely on the elite sources particularly the Sri Lankan government and its military. This seems to be one of the prime reasons why *The Times of India* construed more HWJ as opposed to HRJ and failed to produce more emergency typology stories. In addition, although K Vengatramanan agreed with the principle that one has to be proactive in preventing human rights violations and highlighting such violations when they happen, he stressed that it is always not possible to translate this conviction to day to day reporting, primarily because of the absence of objective information from the ground. And this is where his dilemma comes in with regard to the proactive role in exposing the human rights violations with the moral responsibility. Journalists who are committed to the notion of objectivity which is grounded in positivistic objectivity paradigm and at the same time believed in the proactive role of journalism to expose human rights may find it difficult to draw the line between these two in times of conflict. This is where the societal influence comes into play. K. Vengatramanan did not state if his reporting was influenced by any particular editorial policy and at the same time stated that he was not influenced by geopolitical and ideological reasons. Thus it is likely that he would have been influenced by the societal factors as explained by Kempf and Reimann, given the fact that a number of Indian journalists acknowledged that they were influenced particularly by the terrorism label on the LTTE.

Kempf and Reimann explain that the biggest influence on media comes from society; journalists themselves are components of a particular society. The more full their society is involved in a conflict, the more the pressure there is on the reporter to be “on team”. Journalists are citizens as well as members of a profession. At times of war there is a clash between professional duties and the responsibility of being a citizen (see Williams, 1992).

As underlined above, the views of the many journalists who are optimistic about the practice of human rights based reporting or HRJ tend to position the notion of objectivity within the critical constructivist approach. One of the advocates of this viewpoint is Callum Macrae of *Channel 4*. To quote him,

Actually I don't have problem with “objectivity”. That implies analysis and an ability to stand back and question not just given assumptions, but also your own assumptions. That should be encouraged in – and by – all journalists. My objection is to “impartiality”. That implies a stupid failure to engage and allows the lazy journalism which simply represents “both sides” in any dispute in an uncritical and unthinking way. By definition representing “both sides” in any unequal society

equates those in power with those who are denied power. Doing that makes you a reactionary in practice, as it means you reinforce the unequal status quo.

When asked if this conception was possible in his reporting, Callum Macrae said his latter coverage of the events was engaged and alas he took the side of truth and justice. He reiterated that he took the side of those who wanted to tell the truth about what happened, and at the same time acknowledged that he was allowed and encouraged to do this by Channel 4. Callum Macrae's view while highlighting the possibility of engaging in human rights based journalism within the principle of objectivity anchored in the critical constructivist theory. This also highlights an opposite scenario on how his individualistic conceptualisation of the notion of objectivity is with regard to taking side of the 'truth and justice' is possible, also if the editorial position of the channel 4 had a particular editorial policy. However, it does strengthen the argument that if a journalism practice of that kind is to take side of the truth/ justice / victims under the influence of the moral responsibility constructed out of the critical constructivist theory is possible?

The Hindu's former correspondent Nirupama Subramaniam said media can promote and protect human rights if it plays its role truly and honestly. She pointed out the direction of elements - the 10 principles of journalism written by two American journalists Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel (Katovsky and Carlson, 2003). To be practicing right journalism one must make decisions and cannot be objective. However, journalistic methods are objective, which goes close in association with the objectivity grounded in critical constructivist theory, as explained in chapter 4. "Objectivity is a search for truth. It's a process. Search for objectivity would make us search for truth" says Nirupama Subramaniam.

According to BBC's former corresponded to Sri Lanka Francis Harrison, BBC takes a liberal pro human rights view and thus chooses to prioritise the coverage of human rights stories within the notion of objectivity to cover both sides. Francis Harrison however said she likes the way channel 4 reports the human rights issues. To quote her:

I like the journalism of Channel 4 these days because it's more aggressive – it challenges interviews and exposes things – not just on Sri Lanka. It's intelligent and not aiming at people who it assumes know nothing about the world. The BBC is far less challenging and more focused on reflecting what's going on in a fair and balanced way.

Highlighting the view that nothing is ever totally free from bias, freelance journalist Emanuel Stoakes said that he is fairly open with his opinion pieces and tends to sort of express a lot of sympathy for victims of major crimes, while not wanting to over violate his own reporting objectivity.

The *Guardian* (Australia) freelance journalist Ben Doherty shares a similar view where he says, in the course of their normal reportage, he can highlight cases of human rights abuses, and by exposing them, he can assist in ending those abuses. He further opined that,

Human rights violations are, and should be, of primary concern to journalists. Journalism's fundamental role is to report the truth of a situation and to hold power to account. Where people's human rights are being abused (particularly civilians in a conflict situation) and where governments or other organisations are committing those abuses, public exposure is crucial in stopping them and preventing them from occurring again.

Meanwhile, some journalists are of the opinion that journalism has a moral duty to protect human rights; however they said that this should be pursued with a journalism which is objective and impartial. For example, *The Independent* journalist Jerome Taylor underlining the concept of objectivity grounded in the positivist approach, said journalists have a moral responsibility to report the facts on the ground as they see them.

Journalists should try and speak truth and they are the watchdogs of the people. If the facts on the ground are that people are being killed, or they are being rapped, then journalists of course have a moral responsibility to report the facts on the ground as they see them. He said.

AP journalist Ravi Nessman said he was convinced that his job was to uncover what was happening in Sri Lanka and to show the world what he found, and it was up to global actors and public opinions to take actions. While, stressing that prescriptive policies are not the role of the media, he accentuated the importance of verifying the information of the warring parties as well as to expose the human rights violations such as bombing of hospitals in the case of Sri Lanka to the world. His thoughts of responsibility to show the world of what is happening with verified information rather than reporting the information from elite sources without verifying, positions him under the critical constructivist approach to search for the truth. In this process, the tendency of space for the moral responsibility to operate concerning the human rights violations is possible.

Meanwhile, few journalists said they were opposed to the notion that media has a moral responsibility to protect and promote human rights, as it involves advocacy and lobbying. S.Mururai of *The Deccan Herald* termed it as “activist journalism”, while K. Radhakrishnan, Muralidhar Reddy and V.S. Sambandan of *The Hindu* too expressed similar views and stressed that the role of the media should be a neutral observer and true to the facts on the ground. With these viewpoints, they tend to position their journalistic practice within the notion of objectivity grounded in positivist epistemology.

8.3 Conclusion

Having discussed the constraints faced by the journalists in reporting the war in Sri Lanka during, before and after, this chapter discussed how journalists felt about practicing human rights based journalism or HRJ in light of the findings unearthed in chapter 6 and 7, and also how their views on the notion of objectivity corresponds with the practice of HRJ.

To provide an in-depth historical context and logical understanding of the difficulties associated with the news coverage, not only the journalists who covered the humanitarian crisis, but also the journalists who have been to Sri Lanka as foreign correspondents immediate, before and after the end of the crisis, who revealed a number of challenges they faced during the course of their reporting, were interviewed. This discussion answered the 3rd research question.

Chapter 9: Conclusion - International Press's Failure to Construct R2P options in Sri Lanka

9.0 Introduction

This study used two independent but mutually facilitating methods that involved content analysis and interviews to answer the primary research question, which highlighted the extent to which the international press practiced HRJ in reporting the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka, to create potential for R2P interventions.

In order to address the primary research question in detail this study adopted three research questions. The 1st research question was answered in chapter 6 by addressing four different but mutually reinforcing assessments of the news coverage of the international newspapers. The first of which found that except the Indian newspapers, the UK and US newspapers largely failed to report the crisis. And the reasons as to why the Indian newspapers reported the crisis to a larger extent compared to others, and why the US and UK newspapers failed their watchdog roles drastically were explained with various journalism theories, which partly answered the 1st research question based on the gravity of the international newspaper reporting on the Sri Lankan crisis.

The second assessment found that the international media largely relied on the elite sources to get information to construct the discourse of the humanitarian crisis. And the reasons that stressed them to get into that position were due to the lack of access to the war zone, difficulties they were left to deal with in verifying the information and the poor interaction that they had with the victims. This further strengthen the 1st research question that was based on the specific sources that were most frequently relied upon by the participants while reporting.

The third assessment found that although the US and UK newspapers to a considerable extent constructed human rights discourse covering the hallmark incidents of human rights violations, that it was not sufficient enough to draw the attention of the world to take action on the suffering in terms of their quantitative and qualitative news reporting. This further shed light on answering the 1st research question on the extent to which the human rights violations and sufferings were reported in the international newspapers.

The fourth assessment enlightened how the (sub) frames of HRJ and HWJ determined the nature and scope of the ‘discursive order’ in the news stories in the context of the ‘two dimensional framing process’, and contributed to the discourse of news journalism as part of the global discursive order. This finding declared how the international newspapers failed to practice HRJ and report the human rights violations and sufferings in Sri Lanka, which thereby further answered the 1st research question based on the gravity to which the frames of HRJ were expressed whilst reporting.

The research findings and analysis in chapter 7 revealed the overall failure of the international newspapers to create awareness of the crisis and how it drew the attention of the international community towards the mass atrocity crimes in terms of human rights based news coverage as well as in terms of the total number of news coverage during the last phase of the war, and thereby partially answers the 2nd research question. The analysis in this chapter also highlighted the nature of the realism and meaning making of HRJ stories in the newspapers, which was primarily influenced by the lack of access to the war zone. Having done that, the findings depicted that although the UK and US newspapers, except *The Washington Post*, constructed perceptual realism (facticity) and indexical meaning to a significant extent, that they failed to construct fair number of categorical (emotion) and ideological realism (justice) as well as iconic and symbolic meanings in their news stories. This failure revealed the impotent nature to create urgency and immediacy of the humanitarian crisis, by further answering the 2nd research question that was focused on the extent to which the international newspapers exposed the issues of human rights within the R2P framework to construct the intervention in Sri Lanka.

In chapter 8, journalists who have been to Sri Lanka as foreign correspondents, immediate, before and after the end of the crisis, revealed a number of challenges they faced during the course of their reporting including the difficulties they faced by not having access to the war zone, the intimidation and the difficulties they were faced with in verifying the information as well as a range of structural constraints. This finding gave an insight to the 3rd research question on the challenges that were confronted by journalists in the course of their reporting.

9.1 Critical reflections on the findings

Furthermore, moving on to the analysis, this study demonstrated the lack of due attention and importance among the international newspapers except the Indian newspapers. Particularly *The Hindu*, which during the crisis with regard to the number of news stories, layout, and positioning of news stories illustrated the inability of this inadequate number of news coverage to create due awareness and draw the attention of the world to the crisis. For example, as highlighted in chapter 6, the international press completely ignored the withdrawal of the UN and other humanitarian organisations from Vanni during the initial stage of the final war in September 2008. It was at this time that the international community should have been warned of the dangers of the propensity for human rights violations and war crimes, and made to consider the ‘responsibility to prevent’ option of the R2P doctrine.

Although the international press coverage increased in proportion as the violence and human rights violations worsened towards the end of war in May, 2009, the coverage in terms of the number of news stories remained extremely low except in the Indian newspapers. The reason why the Indian newspapers reported the crisis to a larger extent, and why the UK and US newspapers failed, were enlightened through the light of Galtung and Ruge’s (1965) news value of cultural proximity, Herman and Chomsky’s explanation of ‘anti-ideology filter’ (1988) and Hanitzsch’s (2007b) structural constraints. Key among these reasons were: lack of access to the war zone, economic consideration and news value.

On the other hand, although the coverage of the humanitarian crisis increased slightly proportional to the relativistic increase in violence, the analysis in chapters 6 and 7 revealed how the practice of HRJ was affected by the ‘two dimensional framing process’. As a result of this, it was explained how HRJ and HWJ was practiced in the Indian, UK and US newspapers to a considerable level. This was done to facilitate the function of the ‘Trio Diagram’ and Dugan’s nested paradigm model of R2P’, as illustrated in chapter 4.

The analysis showed how the Indian newspapers, failed to create human rights discourse to prevent the gross human rights violations despite the extensive coverage of the humanitarian crisis, particularly *The Hindu*. The analysis also revealed the proportional relationship between HRJ frames informed by the properties of Framing Matrix and typology of news stories informed by the communicative properties of the multimodal

analysis. Nevertheless, the multimodal analysis highlighted the nature of the realism and the meaning making of the HRJ stories of the newspapers, primarily influenced by the lack of access to the war zone. All the UK and US newspapers, except *The Washington Post*, constructed perceptual realism (facticity) and indexical meaning to a significant extent. However, they failed to construct fair number of categorical (emotion) and ideological realism (justice) as well as iconic and symbolic meanings in their news stories, by revealing their importance to create urgency and immediacy of the humanitarian crisis.

In terms of the aesthetic quality, the emergency typology of news stories constructed by the newspapers largely contained ‘pamphleteering’ than other types: philanthropy and sublimation. The very low level representation of the sublimation type of aesthetic quality caused by the lack of access to the war zone negatively impacted the coverage of the newspapers to construct more ‘empathy critical’ and ‘diagnostic reporting’ frames. This limited the chances of the readers to comprehend the distant suffering by the in depth understanding of the underlying causes.

Amidst the context of the multimodal analysis, the findings proved that despite the considerable construction of the HRJ frames and emergency typology of news stories in the US and UK newspapers, their ability to create cosmopolitan emotions, empathy and aesthetic impact is compromised. This was as a result of the inadequate construction of categorical and ideological realism, as well as the iconic, symbolic and sublimation meanings. Meanwhile, the large and significant amount of adventure news stories in the Indian, UK and US newspapers, to a greater extent suppressed the construction of all types of realism, meaning making and aesthetic quality.

This dysfunctional construction of the communicative properties of the emergency typology of news stories does create a negative impact in the construction of space – time (representation) and agency (orientation) as shown in the CDA. Particularly, the mobile type of chronotope, which has the ability of connecting the contexts of safety zones and danger zones to propose a specific relationship of action between the readers and victims, is very much suppressed in the newspapers. In addition, as observed in the analysis, *agora* plays the role of humanising the victims by making them active in the newspapers, which is suppressed in the emergency typology of news stories. This dysfunctional pattern in terms of representation and orientation weakened the ability of the emergency typology of news stories to create action by creating readers’ proximity to suffering. Moreover, the

large amount of adventure typology of news stories erased vast amount of space for the action on suffering to take place in the news stories.

As explained in chapter 2, while focusing on preventing strategies, R2P equally concentrates on addressing root causes and appropriate solutions to violent conflicts with the aim of creating steps in preventing conflict escalation and enhancing peace prospects. It was also explained how R2P evolved as a rights based approach and how the media can assist its implementation in an appropriate manner by establishing *prima facie* case or regime of truth of the discourse of human rights violations, their causes and consequences.

Against the backdrop of the practice of HRJs rights based approach, as highlighted in the hypothesis in chapter 4, the application of R2P in Sri Lanka was conditioned by the level of construction and reality of the humanitarian crisis fashioned by the international press. As explained in chapter 6 and 7, the ‘two dimensional framing process’ conditioned by the editorial policy and the news sources did not enable the international media to establish a *prima facie* case. This as a result of the lack of due reality of the crisis, did not empower the international community to invoke R2P.

In other words, the response and action of the international community was uneven and dysfunctional. This was due to the inadequate information of direct and indirect human rights violations of the crisis and the underlying causes to consider R2P options. They did not have enough information to create R2P options based on the three responsibilities of R2P through its pillar approach. This was because of the dysfunctional coverage of the crisis by the international press due to the reasons explained in the analysis of chapters 6, 7 and 8. The newspapers failed to invoke R2P options because they lacked power. The way the international community could have achieved this power is through the ‘knowledge’ of the reality of the crisis. According to Francis Bacon, “Knowledge is power”, and this knowledge could have given the “capacity to act” on the suffering in Sri Lanka if they were aware.

As discussed in chapter 4, according to Van Dijk (1996, p.11-12), access is an important factor in the analysis of media power, as access to ‘discourse’ is central to manage and control power. Media functions as a tool of this discourse construction, and as a result those who want to exert control over the society of an issue or activity endeavour to

influence or manipulate the discourse construction. This is done to make the version of reality override the opposing discourse (s) in the discursive order.

This was very much the case in the construction of the global discursive order of the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka. The Sri Lankan government with its authority as a sovereign state was in a strong position rather than the LTTE to manipulate the discourse production of the humanitarian crisis to control the power over the political action on the suffering. In addition to the lack of interest among the international press, with regard to the humanitarian crisis, the Sri Lankan government's strategies regarding 'access to the news sources' as evident in chapters 6 and 7 vastly impacted the discourse construction of the humanitarian crisis in the international press. As uncovered in chapters 6, 7 and 8, controlling or manipulating the 'access to the news sources' involved three strategies: 1. Denial of access to the war zone; 2. Propaganda briefings; and 3. Creating difficulties in verifying the information.

Particularly, the discussion showed how the lack of interaction between the journalists and victims affected the practice of HRJ. Thereby this affected the construction of the reality of the crisis in terms of exposing the direct and indirect human rights violations, their causes and suffering with raw images and information. As observed in chapter 8, the journalists who covered the crisis, except *The Hindu* correspondent Muralidhar Reddy, acknowledged that the major problem they faced was the lack of access to the war zone. This situation, on one hand did not enable the newspapers to play an active role in the discourse production of the distance suffering. However, on the other it did not allow the victims to play an active role either in the discourse production. In this manner, the Sri Lankan government effectively controlled the discourse production of the humanitarian crisis by not allowing the raw information and visuals to play an active role to construct the reality of the suffering. This in turn enabled the Sri Lankan government to exert power over the global state actors' responsibility to consider the 'responsibility to react' option of R2P in line with its pillar approaches when gross human rights violations and mass atrocity crimes were taking place. As highlighted already, the complete lack of attention in terms of the number of coverage towards the crisis from the beginning of the war limited the opportunity of the international community to consider the 'responsibility to prevent' option of R2P.

In addition, as revealed in chapters 6 and 8, the lack of access to the war zone created a situation for journalists to be dependent on the Sri Lankan government and its military's regular briefings, as well as their website to obtain information. Conversely, this dependency situation created a favourable situation for the Sri Lankan government providing it easy access to the international press, via their briefings discourses and communicative events. In other words, according to Kempf's third turning point this dependency situation as revealed by journalists in chapter 8, made journalists to turn to elite sources such as the Sri Lankan government and its military and made them become vulnerable to the propaganda. Although the LTTE did have an effective media wing in the past, due to the consistent severity of the final war it gave no avenue to disperse news.

Furthermore, despite the small space available as a result of the satellite technology to obtain information from the public of the war zone as stated by the journalists in chapter 8, the Sri Lankan government worked hard to discredit these informational sources. The journalists acknowledged that the verification of information was a major challenge faced by them. As revealed, the Sri Lankan government also used extra legal restrictions and tactics such as intimidation and visa refusal to undermine their work and journalistic responsibilities.

Moreover, the analysis of chapters 6, 7 and 8 provided some insights into understanding the epistemology of HRJ explained in chapter 4. As observed already, the 'two dimensional framing processes' is subjected to the influence of various ideological, political, geographical and cultural contexts in which discourse is created. This is because with different editorial stance, the US, UK and Indian newspapers constructed different news stories with different frames. In this context, as elaborated in chapter 4, by embracing critical constructivism, HR journalists are guided by 'critical consciousnesses. Thereby they are able to detach themselves from the world in which they are conventionalised to perceive the world in a particular way, and review how their occupational culture is conditioned by the news values, relationship of journalism to power and the dependence towards news sources.

It was enlightened in chapter 4 that this detachment aspect is an important justification for HRJ that this practice is not antithetical to the basic tenet of what Western journalists believed was "good journalism", namely objectivity (see Lyon, 2007). And, it was argued that this detachment was created by the enlightenment of critical theories to understand the

influencing factors of social reality; the 'objectivity pursued' of news reporting within the concept of 'inseparably of the knower and the known'.

As evident in the discussion in chapter 8, there exists a category of journalists who accept that the media has a moral responsibility to prevent human rights abuses, and position their journalistic practice within the notion of objectivity grounded. This conception enables them to play aggressive journalism by taking the side of truth and justice. There exists another category of journalists who believe journalists should not hold any agenda with regard to prescriptive policies. However, they are duty bound to expose the human rights violations with verified information, and position their journalistic practice within the notion of objectivity grounded. These journalists tend to play critical journalism, which in turn may help to prevent human rights violations. Meanwhile, a third category of journalists believe the role of journalists should be that of observers, and thus should only report mere facts as seen and heard by them. They tend to position their journalistic practice within the notion of objectivity grounded in positivist epistemology, and engage in bystander journalism. This may or may not help prevent human rights violations.

However, as evident in the analysis in chapters 6, 7 and 8, the editorial policy of the newspapers tremendously influenced the type of epistemology in which journalists pursued their objectivity in their reporting of the humanitarian crisis. Although, the journalists who seemed to have positioned their journalistic practice within the aggressive journalism, they do not represent any of the newspapers selected for this study, and those who have positioned them within the critical journalism do represent UK and US newspapers. Meanwhile, the journalists who positioned their coverage within bystander journalism represent the Indian newspapers.

This creates a relativity between the editorial position of the newspapers and the detachment aspect of the (HRJ) journalists within the epistemology of critical constructivism. As observed already the neutral stance of the editorial board of the US and UK newspapers enabled their journalists/ newsroom to practice HRJ to a certain extent given the fact that this coverage as explained already was conditioned by some external factors such censorship, lack of access to the war zone and structural contrasts.. The practice of HRJ was possible in the case of the US and UK newspapers, because as explained in chapter 4, the critical constructive epistemology, which enabled the journalists to understand and inform the socio, cultural, political, ethical and moral foundations of a

crisis, were guided by their moral responsibility. Moral obligation of an issue does not exist independently to be picked up by journalists, and instead it is an outcome of the enlightenment of different theories of critical approaches to “the process by which their consciousness was constructed” (Kincheloe, 1993, p.109).

In the case of the UK and US journalists, it was the neutral position of their editorial board that enabled them to adhere to the moral values of the human rights violations and the suffering of the victims. Nevertheless, as in the case of the Indian newspapers, especially *The Hindu*, the possible effect of the moral responsibility seems to have been suppressed by their strong ‘pro-war’ editorial position influenced by the national and geopolitical interests.

This reveals how the practice of HRJ can be effectively controlled by the policy of the editorial boards. In addition, the analysis also reveals how despite having the moral responsibility, the practice of HRJ can be seriously weakened by manipulating and controlling the communicative process of censorship, the lack of access to the war zone and the information verification.

Explicitly, what made the US and UK journalists to practice HRJ are the epistemology (critical constructivism) involved in their news coverage. This critical constructivism, as argued already, enables the journalists to understand the influencing factors of social reality within the enlightenment of critical theories to pursue the ‘objectivity’ in their news reporting in the context of the concept of ‘inseparably of the knower and the known’.

As enlightened in chapter 4, the lack of ‘inseparably of the knower and the known’ in conventional journalism makes its practice vulnerable in the hands of the manipulations of the elites sources and powerful people. As elaborated in chapter 4, this is the reason why the conventional journalism (HWJ) with its objectivity concept, once considered good journalism practice, has failed to continue to perform the same given the present-day wartime circumstances conditioned by propaganda strategies and technologically assisted activities/ manipulations. This lack of ‘inseparably of the knower and the known’ did not allow the conventional journalism (HWJ) to adapt itself to preserve its values against the modern-day warfare communication controlling strategies. Nevertheless, as observed in the analysis, the ‘critical constructivist epistemology’ can fill this gap and empower the journalists to practice human rights based journalism. In other words, the theory of HRJ

with its epistemology of ‘critical constructivism’ addresses the failings of the HWJ. Therefore, what makes the difference between the HRJ and HWJ is the approach to search for truth in terms of their epistemology. As observed in chapter 4, the former is grounded in the critical constructivist epistemology, while the latter is anchored in positivistic epistemology.

Even though it was not evidenced in this analysis, in a potential scenario where a media institution is to take a very strong ‘anti-war’ position in the interest of protecting human rights, it could portray HRJ to a greater extent in its coverage of the war. This ‘anti-war’ position of the editorial board of media would require its journalists to adopt its internal guidelines to engage in a peace campaign and favour more human/ people oriented sources to expose the human rights violations by taking the side of the victims. This kind of practice of HRJ may happen as a result of the demand of the ‘anti-war’ editorial stance of the media institution concerned. In such a situation, the HRJ would be imposed upon the journalists, as in the case of *The Hindu*, where HWJ was imposed upon its journalists due to its pro-war editorial stance. When the practice of either HRJ or HWJ is imposed upon the journalists, it may not provide the space for the journalists to embrace the moral values as it may undermine the process of critical constructivism.

Furthermore, this argument highlights the danger of deliberately taking the side of victims in a conflict/ war situation as it contradicts the critical constructivist theory of HRJ. As observed in the analysis of this chapter, anchoring the journalistic practice in critical constructivist epistemology itself allows the journalists to view the information of victims as an important way of constructing the reality. Therefore, deliberately taking the side of the victim would potentially affect the objective and the functional mechanism that makes HRJ antithetical to good journalism. As highlighted earlier, taking an ‘anti-war’ position and deliberately siding with the victims may enable a media to portray HRJ to a greater extent. However, it would carry a risk of eroding the credibility of constructing a prima facie case and reality of a crisis.

Therefore, the contribution of the HRJ theory towards the mass communication literature is to update the conventional journalism identified as HWJ as a good journalism. This is done by offering human rights based understanding of the media coverage grounded in critical constructivism. Understanding the theory of HRJ enlightens the journalists of their ‘critical consciousness’ process, so that they are able to detach themselves from the world in which

they are conventionalised to perceive the world in a particular way. This also helps them observe how their occupational culture is conditioned by the nature of news values, the relationship of journalism to power and the dependence on news sources to practice good journalism. Nevertheless, there is no guarantee that the neutral position of a media institution would enable journalists to practice full-fledged HRJ. This is manifested in the case of the news coverage of the US and UK newspapers, where the conditions within the journalists work (censorship, lack of access to the war zone etc.) impacted the process of critical consciousness and made them portray HWJ frames to a certain extent.

A potential way of making the practice of HRJ feasible is to make the journalists understand the theory of HRJ through a pedagogical approach. Furthermore, the theoretical understanding of HRJ could help in a greater manner to help design media strategies during times of crisis. Also, the ‘framing matrix’ of HRJ and ‘multimodal discourse analysis matrix’ integrated into the coding manual in this study could be an analytical tool of an ‘early warning and rapid response’ mechanism to assess the state of the true reality of the ‘existing global discursive’ crisis.

9.1 Distinctiveness of this study and its original contribution towards knowledge

Ibrahim Segha Shaw’s Book entitled “Human Rights Journalism: Advances in Reporting Distant Humanitarian Interventions”, elucidates how journalistic decisions given socio, economic and structural constraints shape the reader’s’ perception of distant suffering, providing case studies of humanitarian interventions, by the mainstream Western media. It is the first book to provide a framework for reporting human rights issues that is aimed at protecting and promoting human rights and creates peace within human rights and peace principles in light of Kant’s cosmopolitan principle of global justice.

In its argument, his book consistently claims the power and moral responsibility of the journalists as duty bearers to educate and increase awareness of the human rights violations and monitor, investigate and report them. Importantly, the book establishes human rights journalism as a more proactive approach to eliminate direct, structural and cultural violence and thereby its potential power to create both negative and positive peace.

However, Shaw’s book merely examines the conflicts in Africa and Eastern Europe and fails to cover the conflicts in South Asia and South East Asia. Against this backdrop, this

study looks at the practice of HRJ for the first time in South Asia as neither Shaw or Phillip Hammond (2007), or any other have looked at the Asian case studies.

Professor Damien Kingsbury of Deakin University, Australia published a book entitled “Sri Lanka and the Responsibility to Protect: Politics, Ethnicity and Genocide”, in which he has analysed why the international community failed to fulfil its obligations under the R2P norm to put a stop to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. Kingsbury blames, “the UN for its failure to act throughout the Sri Lankan conflict that enabled the war to become so brutal and to be won by one party in May, 2009 with the massacre of more than 70, 000 people and severe human rights abuses” (Kingsbury, 2012, p.8). His book examines the ways and extends the views on how the Sri Lankan civil war might have invoked R2P in Sri Lanka and the challenges facing the implementation of R2P. Kingsbury also discusses the geo-strategic factors against the R2P and the geo-strategic factors in favour of implementing the R2P.

Meanwhile, former UN's spokesperson in Sri Lanka during the final months of the civil war, Gordon Weiss, published a book titled “The Cage: The fight for Sri Lanka & the Last Days of the Tamil Tigers” in which he has detailed the human rights abuses perpetrated by both sides and has further indicated the failure of the international community to intervene to stop the gross human rights violations (Weiss, 2012).

These important publications focus on the implications of the geopolitical, world order and UN's internal mechanisms with regard to the failure of the international community during the humanitarian crisis. However, no studies have been done with regard to the role of the international media in the representation of the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka and how they failed/ succeeded in creating R2P options. This study fills this research gap.

To the best of the author's knowledge, this is the first study to demonstrate the role of the media with regard to the implementation of R2P. Particularly, chapter 4 of this study provides an original literature contribution in terms of ‘HRJ-R2P Nexus’ within the ‘Trio Diagram’ of Parlevliet's Iceberg Metaphor, Dugan's nested paradigm model and R2P. This is a pioneering, innovative and exploratory model, which not only enlightens the epistemological basis for operationalisation of R2P as just-peace framework, but also provides an understanding as to how HRJ as a right based approach can facilitate the implementation of R2P. In this context, this study has a research implication as to how to

widen the understanding of constructing an embedded media strategy within the R2P framework.

Importantly, as originated in chapter 4, this study makes an important contribution in terms of providing an epistemological foundation for the practice of HRJ. The epistemological foundation argued within the critical constructivist paradigm guide on human rights journalists with ‘critical consciousness’, which enabled them to detach from the world and observe how their working pattern is influenced by the nature of news values, the relationship of journalism power and the dependence on news sources. This opposed to the positivist paradigm makes journalists vulnerable to the manipulations of the elites and powerful people within the separable concept of the knower and known. In other words, the detachment created by the ‘critical consciousness’ to understand the influencing factors of social reality is the ‘objectivity pursued’ in HRJ within the concept of ‘inseparably of the knower and the known’, as opposed to the ‘objectivity pursued’ in HWJ within the ‘separable concept of the knower and known’. In this manner, HRJ is not critical of objectivity; instead it differs in its approach towards pursuing the objectivity in terms of epistemology.

It is the ‘critical engagement’ aspect which makes journalists morally obliged to contribute to the prevention of human rights, and why (human rights) journalists are expected to have moral obligation to protect human rights. It is this moral responsibility that makes them take the side of truth/ justice/ victims. Against the backdrop of this argument, this study provides insights into the understanding of the emphasis on the moral responsibility of the journalists to take the side of the victims. This is not to be imposed upon journalists, but instead to be picked up by them in their journalistic practice within the critical constructivist paradigm. However, this study proved that the sense of moral responsibility of the journalists towards human rights discourse is subject to the influence of the editorial policy as far as the institutional level news coverage is concerned. There may also be other factors such as ethnicity and nature of the conflict as far as the national media is concerned, which is a subject for further analysis.

This study remarkably contributes to the research methodology in two major ways: Firstly, in an innovative manner, this study creates a Framing Matrix as explained in chapter 5, for the analysis of HRJ and HWJ. Although, Ibrahim Seaga Shaw in his theory of ‘Human Rights Journalism’, using a number of case studies identifies the frames of HRJ and HWJ,

he fails to provide a methodology to distinguish between HRJ and HWJ in a scientific manner. In this context, this study makes an original methodological contribution for assessing the practice of HRJ. Although, this study articulates the Framing Matrix within the content analysis framework, due to the nature and scope of this study there is a high potential to use this Framing Matrix in qualitative frameworks such as in Critical discourse Analysis and Frame Analysis.

Secondly, in order to identify the typology of news stories, this study adopts a Multimodal Discourse Analysis Matrix by re-contextualising Lilie Chouliaraki's (2006 and 2008) qualitative analytical framework in a quantitative manner, which as Lilie Chouliaraki remarked: "seems to be a good and promising operationalisation of the analytics of mediation and the framework of pity, within a quantitative research project. There is potential to expand further and test in other empirical contexts too".

Moreover, this is the first study to use Lilie Chouliaraki's 'Multimodal Discourse Analysis', which was originally designed to analyse the television news coverage of the distant suffering, in press coverage.

A great advantage of using the Framing Matrix as well as the Multimodal Discourse Analysis Matrix in the content analysis framework is, its ability to analyse large number of news stories of a particular event over a period of time to analyse the role of the media in a holistic and comparative manner. Also it enables to use multiple variables such as type of news sources, type of articles, mode of news coverage, section of newspaper etc., which is impossible in a qualitative analysis framework. Furthermore, the Framing Matrix of HRJ integrated into the coding manual in this study could be an analytical tool for an 'early warning and rapid response' mechanism to assess the state of the true reality of the 'existing global discursive' order of a crisis/ conflict/ war to consider appropriate strategies/ interventions.

The purposes of these two matrixes are different in terms of the scope and definition of HRJ/ HWJ and typology of news stories. However, as revealed by the analysis there exists a significant parallel relationship between HRJ/ HWJ and typology of news stories. This can possibly be further enlightened with an in depth analysis within the Frame Analysis properties and Multimodal Discourse Analysis properties. This also creates future research on the integrated analytical framework of HRJ/ HWJ and typology of news stories.

This study has shed light on the likely impact of the HRJ frames with regard to the political action on suffering in light of the understanding of multimodal analysis. Nevertheless, more comprehensive studies need to be conducted using sound survey methodologies with regard to the contemporary humanitarian crisis as to how the frames of HRJ empathise with the suffering of individuals, and influence the decision-making process of policy makers.

While Phillip Hammond (2007) and others in their studies have identified the problems associated with the media's role in humanitarian interventions, and while Ibrahim Seaga Shaw proposed HRJ as a solution to report physical, structural and cultural violence within the context of humanitarian intervention. This study is the first to examine the application of the solution in a comprehensive manner using a two dimensional but mutually reinforcing methodology involving content analysis of newspapers and interviews with journalists.

As supported and corroborated by the two dimensional methodology, the analysis of this study found that the framing of news stories is a two dimensional framing process, where one dimension is decided by the editorial policy of the newspaper in accordance with internal guidelines, and the other is decided by the news sources. On one hand, the news source(s) is independently conditioned by the actors involved in a conflict/ crisis/ war, while on the other, the frame is mediated between the editorial policy and the 'conditioned news sources'. Understandably, these 'two dimensional process' of framing is subjected to the influence of various ideological, political, geographical and cultural contexts in which discourse is created. This elucidation re contextualises Norman Fairclough's (1995) idea of 'discursive order' of society to explain the dynamics and process of the 'discursive order' that operates in the news content. It is this discursive order that exists in the next content to form the 'discourse of news journalism' to represent the 'global discursive order' which serves as a nucleus of managing and controlling media power. This is a research aspect that needs to be looked into with regard to the strategies of media interventions to deal with conflicts.

This study has a research implication for future studies to examine the feasibility of practising HRJ in the national media given the differing natures of conflicts and the

landscape of the media industry in the context of the varying professional, institutional and socio-political and ideological conditions.

The lack of access to the war zone led to the poor interaction between the journalists and victims, however as highlighted in chapters 6 and 7, the lack of ‘citizen witnessing’ as per the citizen journalism too affected the practice of HRJ. Nevertheless, if the practice of citizen journalism existed during the crisis, why it did not impact the discourse production of the international press is a different subject matter for further analysis. Moreover, although not evident, it appears through the analysis of the secondary data of the humanitarian crisis of Sri Lanka via the UN review reports and UNHRC resolutions that the citizens witnessing the humanitarian crisis, have played a vital role in the construction of the discourse of war crimes and accountability in the post crisis period by establishing a *prima facie* case. Although, real-time ‘citizen witnessing’ was not possible during the crisis due to the described reasons, the documentation of the citizen witnessing of the citizen journalism appears to have played a vital role in constructing “a sense of shared humanity” with “its capacity to bear witness to human suffering” (Allan et al., 2007, p. 387) in the post war scenario. Perhaps, it is because of the role of citizen journalism that the United Nations in 2005 called for a special court to try war crimes committed during the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka. Therefore, how far the citizen journalism played a role in the post war scenario during the discourse of the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka in 2009, construct the human rights is also a subject for further study.

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Appendix 1: Coding Guide: Frame Analysis

Name of Newspaper

- 1= The Washington Post
- 2= The New York Times
- 3= The Independent
- 4= The Times
- 5. The Hindu
- 6. Time of India

Type of Article

- 1= News Report
- 2= Editorial
- 3= Column
- 4= News Feature
- 5= Cartoon/illustration
- 6= Letter
- 7= Weekly news summary
- 8= 'News in brief'

Section of Newspaper

- 1=Lead story 1st page
- 2. Sub story 1st page
- 3=Inside lead story
- 4=Inside sub story
- 5= Op-ed

Number of Pictures

- 0=0
- 1=1
- 2=2
- 3= More than 2

Size of the main picture

- 1=1 Column
- 2=2 Column
- 3=3 Column
- 4=4 Column
- 5=5 Column
- 6=6 Column
- NA

Nature of picture

- 1= Current
- 2= File
- 3= Info Graphic
- 4= Cartoon

Type of Story

- 1=Ongoing War related
- 2= (Other) War Related

Type of Coverage

- 1= Embedded/ spot
- 2=Distant coverage (stationed in Sri Lanka, but not in war zone)
- 3= Distant coverage (stationed abroad)

- 4= Agency story
- 5. Desk/Newsroom coverage

Quoted or mentioned as source in story

- 0= None
- 1= Military Officials
- 2= Government Officials
- 3= LTTE Officials
- 4= UN/ Foreign Officials
- 5= Victims
- 6= Civil Society/NGOs/ Human Rights Groups
- 7= Indian Politicians

Noteworthy War incidents

- 0=None of them
- 1=UN Withdrawal in Sept 2008
- 2=Mass exodus and plight of people
- 3=Attacks in No Fire zone
- 4=Bombing on Hospital
- 5=Human Shield by LTTE
- 6=Blockade of food and medical aid
- 7=White flag Incident

Key Frame

- 1=Human Wrongs Journalism
- 2=Human Rights Journalism
- NA

Sub-frames

- 1=Empathy Distance Frame (not engaging, discourage advocacy and intervention)
- 2=Evocative Reporting (emotional)
- 3=Reactive
- 4=Non-interventionist
- 5=War Journalism

- 6=Empathy Critical Frame
- 7=Diagnostic Reporting
- 8=Proactive
- 9=Interventionist
- 10= Peace Journalism
- 11=Terrorist (LTTE) Frame

Typology of News story

- 1=Adventure
- 2=Semi Emergency
- 3= Emergency

Appendix 2: Coding Guide: Multimodal Discourse Analysis of Distance Suffering

1. Typology of News Stories

- 1=Adventure News
- 2=Semi- Emergency News
- 3=Emergency News

2. Mode of presentation

- 1= Simple Narratives- Simple reporting of facts
- 2=Questions of why do not appear
- 3= Complicated narratives
- 4=Complicated multimodal narratives
- 5= Meditation of suffering gives credibility and distinct claim to reality
- 6=Perceptual realism- facticity
- 7=Categorical realism- emotion
- 8=Ideological realism- Justice

3. The correspondence between text and image

- 1=Descriptions rather than narrations
- 2=Visual: minimal, abstracted representations
- 3=Indexical meaning (Perceptual realism- Facticity)
- 4=Iconic meaning (Categorical realism- Emotion)
- 5=Symbolic meaning (Ideological realism- Justice)

4. The aesthetic quality of the news text

- 1= Aesthetic distance (Overall semiotic effect- making the readers to feel the suffering)
- 2= Pamphleteering - Political condemnation
- 3= Philanthropy – Makes the readers to do something in terms of providing charity
- 4= Sublimation- Enables to understand the underlying reasons for the suffering

5. Space –Time (Representation)

- 1= Singular Space-Time: An isolated place, a one off event restricts the possibility of historicity
- 2= No connectivity between the suffering & spectators
- 3= Hierarchy of place - victims of worthy places
- 4= Concrete (suffering in the context of concrete physical space)
- 5 =Specific (the context of suffering as a singular space by elaborating on its unique properties or individualises the sufferer as a unique person with an array of attributes)
- 6 =Multiple (moves spectators through the multiple physical contexts of suffering)
- 7= Mobile (mobility).

6. Agency (Orientation)

- 1=Void of Agency (Neither empathy nor denunciation, annihilation of the sufferer)
- 2= Lack of Agora & Theatre
- 3= Hierarchy of human lives- worthy/ unworthy victims (void of agents)
- 4=Agora (humanization of the sufferers- active sufferers)
- 5=Theatre (communicating the reality of distant suffering- active Persecutors & Benefactors)

Appendix 3: Variables for Content Analysis

1. "Type of Articles" vs. "All published news"
2. "Sections of Newspaper" vs. "All published news"
3. a. "Total number of news items with photos" vs "All published news". b. Of them how many with '1', '2' and 'more than 2' photos?
4. "Photo sizes" vs. "Main photo"
5. "Nature of pictures" vs. "All published news with photos"
6. "Type of stories" vs. "All published news".
7. "Type of coverages" vs. "All published news" except Editorial
8. "Quoted or mentioned sources" vs. "All published news"
9. "Noteworthy War incidents" vs. "All published news"
10. "Key Frames" vs. "All published news"
11. "Key Frames" vs. "Sub-frames"
12. "Key Frames" vs. "Type of Articles"
13. "Key Frames" vs. "Type of coverage"
14. "Key Frames" vs. "Non- Photo news"/ "Photo News".
15. "Key Frames" vs. "Quoted or mentioned sources"
16. "Key Frames" vs. "Noteworthy War incidents"
17. "Sub- frames" vs. "Non- Photo news"/ "Photo News".
18. "Sub- frames" vs. "All published news"
19. "Sub- frames" vs. "Quoted or mentioned sources"
20. "Sub Frames" vs. "Type of coverage"
21. " Sub Frames" vs. "Type of Articles"
22. "Sub Frames" vs. "Noteworthy War incidents"
23. "Typology of News stories" vs. "All published news"
24. "Typology of News stories" vs. "Key Frames"
25. "Typology of News stories" vs. "Sub- frames"
26. "Typology of News stories" vs. "Non- Photo news"/ "Photo News".
27. "Typology of News stories" vs. "Quoted or mentioned sources"
28. " Typology of News Stories" vs. "Type of Articles"
29. "Typology of News stories" vs. "Type of coverage"
30. "Typology of News stories" vs. "Noteworthy War incidents"
31. "Period" vs. "All published news"
32. "Period" vs. "Nature of picture"
33. "Period" vs. "Type of Articles"
34. "Period" vs. "Type of coverage"
35. "Period" vs. "Quoted or mentioned sources"
36. "Period" vs. "Key Frames"
37. "Period" vs. "Sub Frames"
38. "Period" vs. "Noteworthy War incidents"
39. "Period" vs. "Typology of News stories"
40. "Key Authors" vs. " Key Frames"
41. "Key Authors" vs. " Sub Frames"
42. "Key Authors" vs. "Typology of News stories"
43. Typology of News story vs. Mode of Presentation
44. Typology of News story vs. The correspondence between text & image

45. Typology of News story vs. The aesthetic quality of the news text
46. Typology of News story vs. Space –Time (Representation)
47. Typology of News story” vs. Agency (Orientation)
48. Sources vs. Space –Time (Representation)
49. Sources vs. Agency (Orientation)
50. Total News vs. Mode of Presentation
51. Total News vs. The correspondence between text & image
52. Total News vs. The aesthetic quality of the news text
53. Total News vs. Space –Time (Representation)
54. Total News vs. Agency (Orientation)

Appendix 4: Coding Manual- The Independent

Article Number:	Date of Publication	Author (if any):	Name of Newspaper	Type of Article:	Section of Newspaper	Number of Pictures	Size of the Main Image	Nature of picture	Type of Story:	Type of Coverage	Quoted or mentioned	Noteworthy War	Key Frame:	Sub frames:	Typology of News	Mode of Presentation	The correspondent	The aesthetic quality	Space – Time (Reference)	Agency (Orientation)		
I 60	19/09/2008	Ravi Nessman		3	1	4	0 NA	NA	1	2,1,2,3		0	1	5	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2			
I 59	04/10/2008			3	1	4	0 NA	NA	1	3	0	0	1	5	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2			
I 58	10/11/2008	Roger Elsgood		3	3	4	1	1	2	2,2,5		0 NA	NA		1 NA	NA	NA	NA	NA			
I 57	17/11/2008	ANDREW BUNCOMBE		3	4	3	1	2	3	1	3,1,2,6	1	1	5	1,4,5,6		3	1	5	1,2		
I 56	26/11/2008	Andrew Buncombe ASIA CORRESPONDENT		3	4	4	2	2	1	1	3,1,2,6	2,5		1	5	1	1,2	1	5	1,2		
I 55	27/11/2008	Jerome Taylor		3	4	3	1	2	2	2 NA	5,6	0 NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		
I 54	02/01/2009			3	1	4	0 NA	NA	1	3,1,3		0	1	5	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2			
I 53	03/01/2009	Stephen Khan		3	4	3	2	4	1	1	2,2,3,5		0	1	5	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2,3		
I 52	27/01/2009	ANDREW BUNCOMBE		3	3	4	0 NA	NA	1	3		1	0	1	5	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2		
I 51	27/01/2009			3	2	4	0 NA	NA	1	NA		0	0	2	10 NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		
I 50	28/01/2009	Dr.Alan Bullion		3	6	4	0 NA	NA	2	3	0	0	2	7	1	3	NA	2	2	1,2		
I 49	28/01/2009	Natalie Samarasinghe		3	6	4	0 NA	NA	2	3	0	1,2	2	6,7		2	3,5,7	NA	2	6	5	
I 48	28/01/2009	Andrew Buncombe		3	1	3	2	3	2	1	3,1,4,6	2,3	2	6,7,8		3	4,5,6,7	3,4	4	7	5	
I 47	29/01/2009			3	1	3	0 NA	NA	1	3	4	2,6	2		6	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2		
I 46	02/02/2009	Andrew Buncombe		3	1	3	0 NA	NA	1	3	2,5,6	2,4	2		6	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2		
I 45	03/02/2009	Andrew Buncombe		3	1	4	1	2	1	1	4,2,4,6	2,3,4	2	6,9		3	4,5,6,7	4,5	2,4	7	4,5	
I 44	05/02/2009	Andrew Buncombe		3	4	3	2	4	1	1	3,1,2,4,6	2,3,4,5,6	2	6,8		2	4,5,6,7	3,4	2	6	5	
I 43	09/02/2009	Andrew Buncombe		3	4	3	2	5	2	2	3		0	2	6,7,10		3	2	4	4		
I 42	14/02/2009			3	2	3	0 NA	NA	1	NA	2,4,6	2,3,5	2	6,7,10		2	4,5,6	NA	2	5	5	
I 41	14/02/2009	Andrew Buncombe		3	4	3	2	6	2	1	3,1,2,4,5,6	2,3,6	2	6,7,9,10		2	4,5,6,7	3,4	2,4	7	4,5	
I 40	14/02/2009	Robert Evans MEP		3	3	4	0 NA	NA	1	3	4,6	2,4	2	6,7,8,9		2	3,5,7	NA	2	4	5	
I 39	21/02/2009	Andrew Buncombe		3	1	4	1	1	2	1	3,1,2,4,6	2,3,4		2	6	2	4,5,6	3	2	5	5	
I 38	27/02/2009	Andrew Buncombe		3	1	4	0 NA	NA	2	3	2,5		0	2	6	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2		
I 37	08/04/2009	Jerome Taylor and Amol Rajan		3	4	4	2	3	1	2	5	5	2	2	6 NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		
I 36	08/04/2009	Andrew Buncombe		3	4	3	1	3	1	2	2,4,6	2,3,6	2	6,7,8,9,10		3	4,5,6,	3	4	4	5	
I 35	10/04/2009	Jerome Taylor		3	1	1	1	3	1	2	5		2 NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		
I 34	10/04/2009	Andrew Buncombe		3	3	4	0 NA	NA	1	3	6	2,3		1	1,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
I 33	11/04/2009	Chris Green and Andrew Grice		3	1	3	2	2	1	2	5	0	0 NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		
I 32	16/04/2009	SinhaRaja Tammita-Delgoda		3	1	3	3	6	1	1	1	5	6	1	1,2		2	4,5,6,7	4	2	6	4
I 31	16/04/2009	Andrew Buncombe		3	1	4	1	1	2	1	2	1	3	1	1,4,5		1,2	1	2	1,2		
I 30	18/04/2009	Andrew Buncombe IN TRINCOMALEE and Archie Bland		3	1	3	2	2	1	1	2	2,3,4,6	2,3,5,6	2	6,8,9		2	4,5,6	4	2,4	4	6
I 29	20/04/2009	Andrew Buncombe		3	4	3	2	3	1	1	1	5	0	2		6	1	2	2	1	2	1,2
I 28	21/04/2009	Andrew Buncombe		3	1	4	0 NA	NA	1	2	1,2	2,3,5		1	1,5		1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
I 27	21/04/2009	Andrew Buncombe		3	1	3	2	5	1	1	2	1,2,3,4,6	2,3,5,6	1	1,2,4,5		2	4,5,6,7	3,4	2,4	5	5

I 26	22/04/2009	Andrew Buncombe	3	1	3	1	3	1	1	2	1,2,3,4,6	2,3,5,6	2	6,7,8	3	4,5,6,7	3,4	2,4	5	4,5
I 25	22/04/2009	Charu Lata Hogg	3	3	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	0	2,6	2	7,9,10	3	3,5,8	NA	2	2	5
I 24	23/04/2009	Charles Haviland	3	4	3	1	3	1	1	2	1,2,4,6	2,3	1	1,2,4,5	3	4,5,6,7	3,4	2,4	5	4,5
I 23	24/04/2009	Nirmala Rajasingam	3	3	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	0	2,3,5	2	6,7,10	2	3,4,5,6	NA	2	2	5
I 22	28/04/2009	Archie Bland	3	4	3	2	3	1	1	3	1,2,3,4,6	2,3	1	4,5	2	3,4,5,7	3	2	5	5
I 21	28/04/2009		3	2	3	0	NA	NA	1	NA	2,4	2,3,5	2	7,10	2	3,4,5,6	NA	2	5	5
I 20	30/04/2009	Jerome Taylor	3	4	4	1	2	1	2	5	3,5	2,3,4	2	6	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
I 19	01/05/2009	Andrew Buncombe	3	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	2	2,3,4	2	6	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
I 18	01/05/2009	Andrew Buncombe	3	4	3	1	3	1	1	2	2,3,4,5,6	2,3	2	7	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
I 17	09/05/2009	Andrew Buncombe and Jerome Taylor	3	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	1	2,3	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
I 16	11/05/2009	Andrew Buncombe	3	1	3	2	4	1	1	3	1,2,4,5,6	2,3,4	2	6,7,9	3	4,5,6	3,4	2,4	6	4,5
I 15	13/05/2009	Andrew Buncombe	3	4	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	6	2,3,4	2	7	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
I 14	13/05/2009	Mary Dejevsky	3	3	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
I 13	14/05/2009	Peter Popham	3	4	3	3	2	1	1	3	1,4,5,6	2,3,4,6	1	5,11	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
I 12	16/05/2009	Gillian Orr	3	3	4	1	1	1	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
I 11	18/05/2009	Andrew Buncombe	3	1	1	1	4	1	1	3	1	0	1	1,2,5,11	1	4	2	1	2	1,2
I 10	18/05/2009	Nirmala Rajasingham	3	3	4	1	5	1	1	3	0	0	1	1	1	4	2	1	2	1,2
I 9	18/05/2009	Kim Sengupta	3	4	3	2	2	2	1	3	1,2,3,4	2	1	1,5	1	4	2	1	2	1,2
I 8	18/05/2009		3	2	3	0	NA	NA	1	NA	3,4,5	2,4,5	2	7,10	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
I 7	19/05/2009	Peter Popham	3	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	0	0	1	1,5,11	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
I 6	19/05/2009	Andrew Buncombe	3	1	3	1	3	3	1	2	1,2	0	1	5	1	4	2	1	2	1,2
I 5	19/05/2009	Farah Mihar	3	3	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	0	2,5	2	7,9	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
I 4	19/05/2009	Jerome Taylor	3	4	3	1	2	2	1	3	0	0	1	5	1	1,2	2	1	2	1,2
I 3	20/05/2009	Jerome Taylor	3	3	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
I 2	20/05/2009	Anthony Dworkin	3	3	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	0	2,4,5	2	7,8,9	2	3,5,7	NA	2	2	5
I 1	20/05/2009	Andrew Buncombe	3	8	4	1	1	2	1	2	2,3,4,6	7	2	6,7	2	3,5,7	3,5	2,4	6	4,5

Appendix 5: Coding Manual- The Times

Article Number:	Date of Publication:	Author (if any):	Name of Newspaper	Type of Article:	Section of Newspaper	Number of Pictures	Size of the Main pic	Nature of picture:	Type of Story:	Type of Coverage:	Quoted or mentioned	Noteworthy War in	Key Frame:	Sub frames:	Typology of News story	Mode of Presentation	The correspondence	The aesthetic quality	Space – Time (Representation)	Agency (Orientation)
T 1	20/05/2009	Robert Bosleigh	4	1	3	2	2	1	1	3	1,2,3	7	1	2,5	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
T 2	20/05/2009	Robert Bosleigh	4	1	3	2	4	1	1	3	4,5	2,3,5	2	5,6,8,11	3	4,5,6,7	3,4,5	4	6	4,5
T 3	20/05/2009	Jeremy Page	4	3	4	0	NA	NA	2	3	0	0	2	8	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
T 4	19/05/2009	Michael Clarke	4	3	3	0	NA	NA	1	3	0	0	2	7,10	2	3,8	NA	2	4	5
T 5	19/05/2009		4	2	4	0	NA	NA	1	NA	0	2,3,5	2	5,7,8,11	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
T 6	19/05/2009	Robert Bosleigh	4	1	3	2	4	1	1	2	1,2,4	0	1	5	1	4	3	1	2	1,2
T 7	19/05/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	3	2	3	1	2	3	0	0	2	7,8,10	2	4,7,8	5	4	4	4
T 8	19/05/2009	James Bone	4	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	3	4	2	2	7	2	3,5,6	NA	3	4	5
T 9	18/05/2009	Don McCullin	4	6	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	0	0	2	6	3	3,5,7	NA	2	5	4
T 10	18/05/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	4	1	1	2	2	3	0	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
T 11	18/05/2009	Robert Bosleigh ; Jeremy Page	4	1	3	2	6	1	1	3	1,2,3,4	2	1	5	1	1,2,4	1,2	2	1	1,2
T 12	18/05/2009		4	8	1	1	4	1	1	3	0	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
T 13	16/05/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3,4,5,6	2,3,4	2	6,9	3	3,5,6,7	3,4	2,4	6	4,5
T 14	16/05/2009		4	2	4	0	NA	NA	1	NA	2,4	2	2	7	1	1,2	NA	1	1,2	1,2
T 15	16/05/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	3	1	5	3	1	3	1,2,3,4,5	2,3,5	2	6,7,8,9	3	4,5,6,7	3,4	2,4	5	4,5
T 16	16/05/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	3	1	2	1	2	3	0	0	1	5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
T 17	16/05/2009	Tom Whipple	4	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
T 18	15/05/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	3	2	4	1	1	3	1,3,4,5,6	2,3,4,5	2	6,8,9	3	4,5,6,7	3,4	2,4	6	4,5
T 19	15/05/2009		4	8	2	0	n	n	1	3	0	5	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
T 20	14/05/2009	Rhys Blakely	4	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	0	4	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
T 21	13/05/2009		4	2	4	0	NA	NA	1	NA	4,5	2,3,4,5	2	6,9	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
T 22	13/05/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	3	1	2	1	1	3	2,3,4,5	2,3,4,5	2	6	3	4,5,6	3	2,4	5	4,5
T 23	11/05/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	3	3	4	1	1	3	1,2,3,4,6	2,3,4,5	2	6	3	4,5,6,7	3,4	2	5	4,5
T 24	11/05/2009		4	8	2	0	NA	NA	1	3	5	2,3	2	6	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

T 25	07/05/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	3	1	2	1	1	3	2,4,5,6	2,6	2	6	3	4,5,7	3,4	2,4	5	4,5
T 26	01/05/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	3	1	2	1	1	3	4,6	2,3	2	6,9	3	4,5,6	3,4	2	5	5
T 27	30/04/2009	David Miliband; Bernard Kouchner	4	3	3	1	3	1	1	3	4	2,3	2	6,7,9,10	3	4,5,6	3	2,4	5	5
T 28	30/04/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	4	1	1	3	1	3	1,5	3,5	1	1,5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
T 29	30/04/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	4	2	1	5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
T 30	29/04/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	4	2	2	1	1	3	1,2,4	2	2	6	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
T 31	28/04/2009	Jeremy Page	4	8	3	3	4	1	1	3	1,2,4,6	2	2	6,7	3	4,5,6	3	2	5	5
T 32	27/04/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	2	2,3	1	5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
5	25/04/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	3	1	2	1	1	3	1,2,3,4	2,3,5	2	6,7,9	2	4,5,6	3	2	4	5
T 34	23/04/2009	Ash Kandasamy	4	6	3	0	NA	NA	1	3	0	2,3,5	2	6,7,8,9,10	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
T 35	23/04/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	4	1	3	1	1	3	1,2,6	2,3	2	6,8	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
T 36	22/04/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	3	2	3	1	1	3	1,2,3,4,6	2,3	2	6,8	3	4,5,6,7,	3,4	4	6	4,5
T 37	22/04/2009		4	3	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	1,2,6	2,3	2	8	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
T 38	21/04/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	3	2	3	1	1	3	2,3,4	2,3	1	5,11	2	4,5,6	3,4	2	5	5
T 39	18/04/2009	Jeremy Page	4	3	4	0	NA	NA	2	3	0	2	2	7	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
T 40	15/04/2009		4	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	2	0	1	5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
T 41	14/04/2009		4	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	0	0	1	5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
T 42	13/04/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	3	2	3	1	1	3	1,2,4	2,3,	2	7	2	4,5,6	3,4	2	5	4,5
T 43	11/04/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	1,2,4,5,6	2,3,4,5	2	6	2	3,5,6	3,4	4	5	5
T 44	11/04/2009	Jack Malvern; Emily Gosden	4	1	3	1	3	1	2	5	5	2	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
T 45	10/04/2009		4	4	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	0	2,3,4,5	2	6,8,9	2	3,5,6	NA	1	5	5
T 46	09/04/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	1,4	2	1	5	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
T 47	09/04/2009		4	8	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
T 48	03/04/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	3	2	2	1	1	3	1,2	0	1	5	1	4,5,6	3	1	2	1,2
T 49	27/02/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	3	2,5,6	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

T 50	24/02/2009		4	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	2	0	1	5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
T 51	21/02/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	6	2,3,4,5	2	5,6,11	2	3,5,6	NA	3	4	5	
T 52	21/02/2009	Catherine Philp; Jeremy Page	4	1	3	2		3	1	1	3	1,2,4	2	1	5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
T 53	17/02/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	4	5	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
T 54	13/02/2009	Robert Evans, MEP	4	6	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	0	2	2	9	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
T 55	13/02/2009		4	2	3	0	NA	NA	1	NA	4	2,4,5	2	6,7,8,9	3	3,5,6	NA	2,4	5	5	
T 56	13/02/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	3	1		3	1	1	2	1,2,4,6	2	2	6,7,8,9	3	4,5,6	3	2	5	4,5
T 57	12/02/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	3	2		2	1	1	2	1,2,5,6	2,4,5	2	6	3	4,5,6,7,3,4	2	6	4,5	
T 58	10/02/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,4,6	2	1	1,5	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2	
T 59	07/02/2009	Jeremy Page	4	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	0	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
T 60	05/02/2009		4	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	4,6	2,4	1	5	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2	
T 61	04/02/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	3	4		3	1	1	2	1,4	4	1	1,3,5	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
T 62	03/02/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	4	1		1	3	1	2	2,5,6	2,4,5	1	5	2	4,5,6	3	2	5	5
T 63	02/02/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	4	1		2	1	1	2	2,4,6	2,5	1	5	1	3	1,2	1	2	1,2
T 64	24/01/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	4	2		2	1	1	2	1,2	0	1	1,5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
T 65	17/01/2009	Jeremy Page	4	1	3	1		4	1	2	2	5	0	2	6	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
T 66	15/01/2009		4	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	1,6	0	1	5	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2	
T 67	09/01/2009		4	2	4	0	NA	NA	1	NA	0	0	2	7,10	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
T 68	05/01/2009	David Byers	4	8		0	NA	NA	1	3	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
T 69	03/01/2009	Rhys Blakely	4	1	3	2		4	1	1	3	1,2,6	0	1	5,11	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
T 70	02/01/2009		4	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
T 71	29/12/2008		4	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	1,2,3	0	1	5	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2	
T 72	18/12/2008	Rhys Blakely	4	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	1,2,3	0	1	5	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2	
T 73	28/11/2008	Tom Whipple; Olivia Mordsley	4	1	3	2		3	2	1	3	3	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
T 74	27/11/2008	Jeremy Page	4	1	3	1		2	1	1	3	1,2,6	0	1	1,5,11	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
T 75	23/10/2008		4	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	1,3	0	1	5	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2	

Appendix 6: Coding Manual- The Washington Post

Article Number:	Date of Publication	Author (if any):	Name of Newspaper	Type of Article:	Section of Newspaper	Number of Pictures	Size of the Main Image	Nature of picture	Type of Story:	Type of Coverage	Quoted or mentioned	Noteworthy War	Key Frame:	Sub frames:	Typology of News :	Mode of Presentation	The correspondent	The aesthetic quality	Space –Time (Reference)	Agency (Orientation)
W1	14/09/2008	Ravi Nessman (AP)	1	4	3	0	NA	NA	2	4	1,2,5	0	2	7	1 1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
W2	20/09/2008		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	1	0	1	5	1 1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
W3	07/10/2008		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	2	3	1	0	1	5	1 1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
W4	12/10/2008	Ravi Nessman	1	4	3	2	5	1	1	4	1,5,6	2	2	6,7,10	2 4,5,6	3,4	2,4	6	4,5	
W5	13/10/2008		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	2	4	1	0	1	5	1 1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
W6	29/10/2008		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	2	4	0	0	1	5	1 1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
W7	16/11/2008	Bryson Hull (Reuters)	1	1	3	0	NA	NA	1	4	1	0	1	5,11	1 1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
W8	23/11/2008		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1	0	1	5	1 1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
W9	02/01/2009		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1	0	1	5	1 1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
W10	03/01/2009	Krishan Francis (AP)	1	1	3	1	3	1	1	4	1,2,3	0	1	5	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
W11	04/01/2009		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1	0	1	5	1 1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
W12	06/01/2009		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	0	0	1	5	1 1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
W13	07/01/2009		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1	0	1	5	1 1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
W14	08/01/2009		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	2	4	2	0	1	1	1 1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
W15	15/01/2009		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1	0	1	5	1 1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
W16	23/01/2009		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	5	0	1	1,2,5	1 1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
W17	28/01/2009		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	5	0	1	5	1 1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
W18	29/01/2009	Emily Wax	1	4	3	1	5	1	1	3	1,4,5,6	2	2	6,8	2 4,5,6	3,4	2	5	5	
W19	30/01/2009		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	6	0	1	5	1 1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
W20	31/01/2009		1	8	4	1	2	1	1	4	0	0	1	5	1 1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
W21	04/02/2009		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1	0	1	5	1 1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
W22	05/02/2009	Emily Wax	1	4	3	2	3	1	1	2	1,2,4,6	4	1	1,2	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
W23	07/02/2009	Emily Wax	1	4	3	2	3	1	1	2	5	0	1	1,2,5,11	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
W24	10/02/2009	Emily Wax	1	4	4	1	1	1	1	2	1,2,6	2,4	2	5,6,7,11	2 4,5,6,	3	2	5	4,5	

W25	11/02/2009	Emily Wax	1	4	3	1	2	2	2	2	1,2	5,6	1	1	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
W26	13/02/2009	Emily Wax	1	4	3	3	5	1	1	1	1,3,4,5	2,5	2	6,7,8,9,10	3	4,5,6	3	2	6	4,5
W27	15/02/2009	Emily Wax	1	4	3	0	NA	NA	1	1	2,5,6	2	2	6,8	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
W28	21/02/2009	Emily Wax	1	1	4	1	3	1	1	2	1,2,5,6	0	2	6	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
W29	22/02/2009	Emily Wax	1	4	3	3	5	1	2	2	2,5,6	0	1	2,5,11	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
W30	24/02/2009		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
W31	03/03/2009	Emily Wax	1	4	3	2	4	1	2	2	2,5,6	0	2	5,6,11	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
W32	10/03/2009		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
W33	11/03/2009		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	2	4	2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
W34	14/03/2009	Emily Wax	1	4	4	3	4	2	2	2	5	0	2	5,6,11	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
W35	23/03/2009		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1	2	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
W36	29/03/2009		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	0	2	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
W37	01/04/2009		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	2	2	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
W38	06/04/2009		1	8	4	1	2	1	1	4	1	3	1	1,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
W39	13/04/2009		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
W40	21/04/2009	Emily Wax	1	1	3	2	4	1	1	2	1,2	2,5	1	1,2,5	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
W41	22/04/2009		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1,6	2	1	1,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
W42	22/04/2009	James Traub	1	3	4	1	2	1	1	3	4	2,5	2	6,7,8,9,10	3	4,5,6	3	2,4	5	4,5
W43	23/04/2009		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
W44	24/04/2009		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	4	2	1	5,11	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
W45	26/04/2009		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	0	0	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
W46	27/04/2009		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	2	5	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
W47	28/04/2009		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	4	2	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
W48	02/05/2009	Ravi Nessman	1	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1,2,5	2,5	1	1,2	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
W49	03/05/2009		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	3	4	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
W50	04/05/2009		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
W51	09/05/2009		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	0	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
W52	11/05/2009	Krishan Francis (AP)	1	1	4	2	4	1	1	4	1,3,4,5	3	2	6,8,9	3	4,5,6,7,8	3,4,5	2,4	7	4,5
W53	12/05/2009		1	8	4	1	2	2	1	4	4,5	2	1	1,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
W54	13/05/2009		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	2	4	1	1,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
W55	14/05/2009	Ravi Nessman	1	1	3	0	NA	NA	1	4	1,5,6	4	2	6	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
W56	15/05/2009		1	8	3	1	2	1	1	4	1,6	2,4,5	1	1,3	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
W57	16/05/2009	Bharatha Mallawarachi(AP)	1	1	4	2	4	1	1	4	1,2	2,4,5	1	1,3	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
W58	17/05/2009		1	2	4	0	NA	NA	1	NA	4	2	2	6,7,8,9	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
W59	17/05/2009		1	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
W60	18/05/2009	Emily Wax	1	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	2,3,6	2,5,6	1	3,5,11	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
W61	19/05/2009	Emily Wax	1	4	2	1	2	1	1	2	1,2,6	0	1	5,11	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
W62	19/05/2009		1	2	2	0	NA	NA	1	NA	0	0	1	5,11	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
W63	19/05/2009	Ravi Nessman	1	3	3	1	1	2	1	1	6	0	1	5,11	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
W64	20/05/2009	Emily Wax	1	1	3	2	4	1	1	2	1,2,3,5	0	1	5	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2

Appendix 7: Coding Manual- The New York Times

Article Number:	Date of Publication:	Author (if any):	Name of Newspaper:	Type of Article:	Section of Newspaper:	Number of Pictures:	Size of the Main picture:	Nature of picture:	Type of Story:	Type of Coverage:	Quoted or mentioned:	Noteworthy War incidents:	Key Frame:	Sub frames:	Typology of News stories:	Mode of Presentation:	The correspondence:	The aesthetic quality:	Space – Time (Representation):	Agency (Orientation)
N1	17/09/2008		2	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1	1	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
N2	28/09/2008		2	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1,2,3	0	1	1,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
N3	03/10/2008	SOMINI SENGUPTA	2	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	1,2,3,4,6	1,6	1	1,5	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
N4	06/10/2008		2	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
N5	29/10/2008		2	8	4	1	1	1	1	4	0	0	1	5	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
N6	06/12/2008	SOMINI SENGUPTA	2	4	3	2	5	1	1	1	1,5	0	1	1,2,3,4,5	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
N7	02/01/2009		2	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
N8	03/01/2009	SOMINI SENGUPTA	2	1	4	1	1	3	1	3	2,6	0	1	3,5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
N9	15/01/2009		2	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1	0	1	5	1	4	NA	1	2	1,2
N10	17/01/2009		2	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1,2	2	1	1,3	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
N11	19/01/2009		2	2	5	0	NA	NA	2	NA	0	0	2	6	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
N12	23/01/2009	SOMINI SENGUPTA	2	4	3	1	4	1	1	3	2,3,4	4,6	2	6,8,9	3	4,5,6	3	2	5	4,5
N13	26/01/2009	SOMINI SENGUPTA	2	1	4	1	1	3	1	3	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
N14	28/01/2009	SOMINI SENGUPTA	2	1	3	1	4	1	1	3	1,4,5,6	3,4	2	6,8,9	2	3,5,6	3	2	5	5
N15	30/01/2009	SOMINI SENGUPTA	2	1	3	0	NA	NA	1	3	2,6	2,6	2	6,8,9	2	3,5,6	NA	2	4	5
N16	02/02/2009	SOMINI SENGUPTA	2	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	2,4,5,6	4	2	6,9	2	3,5,6	NA	2,4	4	5
N17	04/02/2009	SOMINI SENGUPTA	2	1	4	1	4	1	1	3	2,6	4,6	2	6,8,9,10	3	4,5,6	3	2	5	5,6
N18	05/02/2009		2	1	3	0	NA	NA	1	4	1,6	4	2	6,8,9	2	4,5,6	NA	2	5	4
N19	06/02/2009	SOMINI SENGUPTA	2	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	2,6	4	2	7,8	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
N20	07/02/2009	MARK McDONALD	2	4	4	2	2	1	1	2	1,2,5,6	2,6	2	6,7,8	2	4,5,6	3	2	5	5
N21	10/02/2009	THOMAS FULLER	2	4	4	1	3	1	1	2	1,6	2	1	1,2,3,4,5,6	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
N22	13/02/2009	THOMAS FULLER	2	4	3	1	5	1	1	2	5,6	2	2	6,8	3	4,5,6,7	3,4	2	5	4,5
N23	18/02/2009	THOMAS FULLER	2	4	3	2	3	1	1	2	5,6	0	2	7,8,10	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
N24	19/02/2009		2	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
N25	21/02/2009	SOMINI SENGUPTA	2	1	4	1	2	1	1	3	1,4,6	2,5	2	6,8,9,10	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
N26	24/02/2009	MARK McDONALD	2	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	2,3	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
N27	06/03/2009	SETH MYDANS	2	1	3	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,6	2,6	2	6,8,9	2	3,5,6	NA	2	4	5

N28	11/03/2009	SETH MYDANS	2	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	2	2	0	1	2,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
N29	22/03/2009	SETH MYDANS	2	1	3	2	4	1	1	2	2,4,5,6	0	2	7,8,9,10	2	4,5,6	3	4	5	4,5
N30	01/04/2009	SETH MYDANS	2	3	3	2	4	1	1	2	6	0	1	1,5,11	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
N31	05/04/2009	SETH MYDANS	2	3	4	1	2	1	2	2	2,5,6	0	2	7	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
N32	13/04/2009	SOMINI SENGUPTA	2	4	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	2,6	2,5	1	1	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
N33	16/04/2009	MATTHEW SALTMARSH	2	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	1,3	0	1	5	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
N34	17/04/2009	MATTHEW SALTMARSH	2	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	1,3,4	2,5	2	9	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
N35	21/04/2009	MARK McDONALD	2	1	3	0	NA	NA	1	3	2,3,6	2,3,5	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
N36	22/04/2009	SOMINI SENGUPTA	2	1	3	2	4	1	1	3	2,3,4,6	2	2	6,8,9	2	4,5,6	3	2,4	4	5
N37	23/04/2009	SOMINI SENGUPTA	2	1	3	1	3	1	1	3	4,6	2,5	2	6,8,9	3	4,5,6,7	3,4	2,4	6	4,5
N38	24/04/2009	NEIL MacFARQUHAR	2	8	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	2,4	2	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
N39	25/04/2009	THOMAS FULLER	2	4	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	2,4,6	2,5,6	2	6,8,9	2	3,5,7	NA	2	4	5,6
N40	26/04/2009	THOMAS FULLER	2	4	3	1	6	1	1	2	1,3,4,6	2,5,6	2	6,7,8,9	3	4,5,6,7	3,4	2,4	7	4,5
N41	27/04/2009	THOMAS FULLER	2	1	4	1	1	3	1	2	1,2,3,4	6	1	1,5	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
N42	28/04/2009	THOMAS FULLER	2	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,4,6	1	1	1,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
N43	29/04/2009	THOMAS FULLER	2	1	3	1	3	1	1	2	4,5,6	4	2	6,8,9	2	4,5,6	3	2	4	5
N44	30/04/2009	THOMAS FULLER	2	1	3	1	4	1	1	2	2,4,5,6	2	2	8,9	2	4,5,6	3	2	4	5
N45	30/04/2009		2	2	4	0	NA	NA	1	NA	NA	6	2	8,9	2	3,5	NA	2	4	5
N46	03/05/2009		2	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	1,2,3	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
N47	06/05/2009	SOMINI SENGUPTA	2	1	1	1	4	1	1	3	4,5,6	2,3,6	2	6,7,8,9	3	4,5,6,7	3,4,5	2	5	4,5
N48	11/05/2009	THOMAS FULLER	2	1	3	1	3	1	1	3	1,2, 4,5,6	2,4,6	2	6,9	2	4,5,6,7	3,4	2,4	6	4,5
N49	12/05/2009	MARK McDONALD	2	1	4	1	2	1	1	3	4,5,6	2,3,5,6	2	6,8,9	3	4,5,6,7,8	3,4,5	2,4	6	4,5
N50	13/05/2009	MARK McDONALD	2	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	5	4	2	6,9	1	3,5,6	NA	2	4	5
N51	14/05/2009	MARK McDONALD	2	1	3	3	3	3	4	3	4,5,6	2,4	2	6,7,8,9	3	4,5,6,7	3,4,5	2,4	6	4,5
N52	16/05/2009	SHARON OTTERMAN	2	1	4	1	1	3	1	3	1,2,3,6	2,5,6	2	6,8	2	4,5	4,5	2	5	5
N53	17/05/2009	AP	2	1	3	0	NA	NA	1	4	1,3	0	1	3,5	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
N54	18/05/2009	SOMINI SENGUPTA	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1,2,3	0	1	2,5,11	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
N55	19/05/2009	Mark McDonald	2	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	2,3,4	0	1	3,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
N56	19/05/2009	NINA BERNSTEIN	2	4	4	3	4	1	2	2	6	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
N57	19/05/2009	SETH MYDANS	2	1		1	1	2	1	3	NA	0	1	5,11	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
N58	20/05/2009	SOMINI SENGUPTA	2	1	3	1	3	1	1	3	1,6	0	1	2,5,11	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2

Appendix 8: Coding Manual- The Hindu

Article Number:	Date of Publication:	Author (if any):	Name of Newspaper:	Type of Article:	Section of Newspaper:	Number of Pictures:	Size of the Main picture:	Nature of picture:	Type of Story:	Type of Coverage:	Quoted or mentioned as s	Noteworthy War incident	Key Frame:	Sub frames:	Typology of News story	Mode of Presentation	The correspondence between	The aesthetic quality of the	Space – Time (Representation)	Agency (Orientation)
H 1	08/09/2008	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 2	09/09/2008	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,6	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 3	10/09/2008	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,3,4	1	1	5	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
H 4	11/09/2008	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	1	4	1	1	2	1,2,4,6	1,2	1	5	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 5	11/09/2008	V.S. Sambandan	5	1	4	1	2	1	2	2	0	0	1	1,2,3,4,5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 6	14/09/2008	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	2	2	0	1	5	2	3,5,7	NA	2	5	5
H 7	16/09/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	3	0	0	1	1,5,11	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 8	17/09/2008	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	2,4	1	1	5,11	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 9	18/09/2008	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,3,6	1	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 10	20/09/2008	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,3	6	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 11	23/09/2008	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,3,4,6	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 12	24/09/2008	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	2	2	0	NA	NA	NA	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 13	25/09/2008	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	2	2	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 14	26/09/2008	Special Correspondent	4	1	4	1	1	2	2	1	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 15	30/09/2008	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	2	1,2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 16	01/10/2008	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,3	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 17	03/10/2008	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,3	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 18	03/10/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	1	0	0	NA	NA	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 19	03/10/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	2	1	2	1	0	0	NA	NA	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 20	04/10/2008	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,3	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2

H 21	05/10/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	1	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 22	06/10/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	1	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 23	06/10/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	1	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 24	06/10/2008	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	1	2	1	1	4	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 25	07/10/2008	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	1	1	3	2	2	1,2,3	0	1	5	1	4	3	1	2	1,2
H 26	07/10/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	1	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 27	07/10/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 28	08/10/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	1	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 29	08/10/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	1	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 30	08/10/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	1	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 31	08/10/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	2	2	2	1	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 32	08/10/2008	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	2	2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 33	09/10/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 34	10/10/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 35	10/10/2008	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,3	0	1	1,5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 36	11/10/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 37	11/10/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	2	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 38	12/10/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 39	12/10/2008	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	2	2	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2

H 40	13/10/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 41	14/10/2008	Malini Parththasarathy	5	3	3	0	NA	NA	2	NA	7	0	1	2,5,11	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
H 42	14/10/2008	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	6	2	2	1,2	2	3,5,6	NA	3	5	5
H 43	15/10/2008	R.K. Radhakrishnan	5	1	1	1	4	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 44	15/10/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 45	16/10/2008	R.K. Radhakrishnan	5	1	2	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 46	16/10/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	1	1	2	2	5	7	5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 47	16/10/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 48	16/10/2008	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	2	2,7	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 49	16/10/2008	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,3	6	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 50	17/10/2008	N.Ram	5	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 51	17/10/2008	Staff Reporter	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 52	17/10/2008	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	2	2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 53	17/10/2008	K.V. Prasad	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 54	18/10/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 55	18/10/2008	R.K. Radhakrishnan	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 56	18/10/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	4	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 57	18/10/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 58	18/10/2008	S. Vidhiyanathan	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 59	18/10/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 60	18/10/2008	Editorial	5	2	3	0	NA	NA	1	NA	0	0	1	4,5,11	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

H 61	18/10/2008	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,4,7	0	1	5	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
H 62	18/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 63	18/10/2008	<i>Staff Reporter</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 64	19/10/2008	<i>Anita Joshua</i>	5	1	1	0	NA	NA	1	2	2	0	2	10	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
H 65	19/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 66	19/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	3	1	2	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 67	19/10/2008	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,6	0	1	1,5,11	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 68	19/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 69	20/10/2008	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	2	0	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 70	20/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	3	1	3	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 71	20/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 72	20/10/2008	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	1	2	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 73	21/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 74	21/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 75	21/10/2008	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	2		1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 76	22/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 77	22/10/2008	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	3	1	1	2	2	2	2	0	1	2	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 78	22/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 79	23/10/2008	<i>Sandeep Dakshit</i>	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	2	1	2	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 80	23/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

H 81	23/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 82	23/10/2008	<i>Staff Reporter</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	6	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 83	23/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	3	0	1	2	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 84	23/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 85	23/10/2008	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	1	3	1	1	2	1,2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 86	24/10/2008	<i>S. Vijay Kumar</i>	5	1	1	1	3	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 87	24/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 88	24/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 89	24/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 90	24/10/2008	<i>Sadeep Joshi</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	2,5	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 91	24/10/2008	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	2	1,2	5	1	2,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 92	25/10/2008	<i>Kopalan</i>	5	1	2	1	2	1	2	5	7	0	2	6	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 93	25/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	3	1	1	2	2	5	4	2	2	10	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 94	25/10/2008		5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	4	6	0	1	1	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 95	26/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 96	26/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 97	26/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 98	26/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 99	26/10/2008	<i>J. Balaji</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 100	27/10/2008	<i>Priscilla Jebaraj</i>	5	1	4	1	4	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

H 101	27/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 102	27/10/2008	<i>V.S. Sambandan</i>	5	1	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	1	4	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 103	27/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	3	1	4	1	2	5	7	0	1	7	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 104	27/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	1	4	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 105	29/10/2008	<i>N.Ram</i>	5	1	1	1	3	1	2	2	2	0	1	4,5,11	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 106	29/10/2008	<i>R.K. Radhakrishnan</i>	5	1	4	1	2	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 107	29/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	1	5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 108	29/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 109	29/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	3	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 110	29/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 111	29/10/2008	<i>Editorial</i>	5	2	3	0	NA	NA	1	NA	7	0	1	1,2,4,5,11	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 112	30/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 113	30/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 114	30/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 115	30/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	1	4	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 116	30/10/2008	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 117	31/10/2008	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 118	01/11/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	1,2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 119	02/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	4	1	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 120	02/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

H 121	02/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 122	02/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 123	02/11/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	1	3	1	1	2	1,3	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 124	02/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 125	03/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 126	03/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 127	03/11/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 128	04/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 129	04/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 130	04/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 131	04/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 132	04/11/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 133	05/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 134	05/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 135	05/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 136	05/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 137	05/11/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	1	2,4	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 138	05/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 139	06/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	3	1	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 140	06/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	1	5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

H 141	07/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 142	07/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	3	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 143	07/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	3	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 144	08/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 145	08/11/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,3	6	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 146	09/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	4	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 147	09/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 148	09/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	1	5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 149	10/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	4	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 150	10/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 151	10/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	3	1	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 152	10/11/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,3	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 153	11/11/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 154	12/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 155	12/11/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	0	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 156	13/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 157	13/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 158	13/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	3	1	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 159	13/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	4	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 160	14/11/2008	Sandeep Dikshit	5	1	1	1	3	1	1	5	2,7	0	1	1,4,5,11	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

H 161	14/11/2008	Sraff Reporter	5	1	4	1	4	1	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 162	14/11/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,5	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 163	15/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 164	15/11/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,6	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 165	16/11/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	2	1	1	3	1	2	1,2	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 166	16/11/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,3	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 167	17/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 168	17/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	4	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 169	17/11/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 170	17/11/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	2	4	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 171	18/11/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	1	2	1	1	2	1,2,3	0	1	5	1	4	3	1	2	1,2
H 172	19/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	2	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 173	19/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 174	19/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 175	19/11/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,3	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 176	20/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 177	20/11/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	1	2	1	1	2	1,2,6	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 178	20/11/2008	Hasan Suroor	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	3	6	2	2	6	2	3,5,6	NA	3	4	5
H 179	21/11/2008	J.Venkatesan	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 180	21/11/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	1	1	3	1	2	1,2,4,6	5,6	1	5	1	4	3	1	2	1,2

H 181	22/11/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	1	3	1	1	2	1,2,3,6	6	1	5	1	4	3	1	2	1,2
H 182	23/11/2008	staff Reporter	5	1	4	1	2	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 183	23/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 184	25/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 185	26/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	1	2	1	2	5	0	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 186	26/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	2	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 187	26/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 188	26/11/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 189	26/11/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	3	5	1	1	2	1	2	2	0	1	1,2,3,4,5,7	1	4	3	1	2	1,2
H 190	26/11/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 191	27/11/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	1	2	1	1	2	1,2,3	0	1	1,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 192	29/11/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2	0	1	1,5,11	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 193	01/12/2008	T.Ramakirishnan	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	2	0	1	1,2,11	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 194	01/12/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,6	0	1	5	2	3,5,7	NA	2	6	5
H 195	02/12/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 196	03/12/2008	J.Balaji	5	1	4	1	4	1	2	5	4	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 197	04/12/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 198	04/12/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 199	04/12/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 200	04/12/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	5	0	1	1,2,3,4,5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

H 201	04/12/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 202	05/12/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	1	2	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 203	05/12/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 204	06/12/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 205	07/12/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	1	3	1	1	2	1,2,3	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 206	08/12/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 207	09/12/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 208	09/12/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 209	10/12/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	2	2,4	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 210	11/12/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	3	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 211	11/12/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 212	11/12/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	2	5	0	1	1,2,3,4	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 213	12/12/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	2,3	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 214	14/12/2008	Staff Reporter	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 215	14/12/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 216	16/12/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 217	17/12/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,6	2	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 218	20/12/2008	Tamil Nadu Bureau	5	1	4	2	1	2	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 219	21/12/2008	Tamil Nadu Bureau	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 220	21/12/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2

H 221	22/12/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,3	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 222	23/12/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	2	5	1	1,2	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 223	24/12/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	2,3	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 224	25/12/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,3,6	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 225	26/12/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 226	26/12/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 227	27/12/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	2	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 228	28/12/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 229	28/12/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 230	29/12/2008	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 231	29/12/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 232	31/12/2008	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	1	2	1	1	2	1,2	0	1	1,2,5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 233	01/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	6	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 234	01/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,3	0	1	1,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 235	02/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,3	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 236	03/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	1	3	3	1	1	2	1,2,3	0	1	1,5,11	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 237	03/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	3	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 238	03/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 239	03/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	1	2	2	0	1	1,5,11	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 240	04/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	2	1	2	3	1	2	1,2,3	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2

H 241	04/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 242	04/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	1,2	NA	1	2 1,2
H 243	05/01/2009	N.Ram	5	1	1	1	2	2	1	3	2	0	1	1,2,3,4,5,1	1	1,2	1,2	1	2 1,2
H 244	05/01/2009		5	2	3	0	NA	NA	1	3	0	0	1	1,2,3,4,5,1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 245	05/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	1	3	1	1	2	1	0	1	1,5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2 1,2
H 246	06/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 247	06/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	4	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 248	06/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	1	2	1	1	2	1	0	1	1,5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2 1,2
H 249	07/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 250	07/01/2009		5	5	4	1	3	4	1	3	0	0	1	1	1	1,2	1,2	1	2 1,2
H 251	07/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2 1,2,3	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2 1,2	
H 252	08/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2 1,2	5	1	1,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2 1,2	
H 253	09/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 254	09/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	1	5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 255	09/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	4	3	1	3	1	1	1	1	0	1	1,2,3,4,5,1	1	1,2	1,2	1	2 1,2
H 256	09/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	1	2	1	2	1	2	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2 1,2
H 257	09/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	1	2	0	1	5,11	1	1,2	NA	1	2 1,2
H 258	10/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	2	1	1	3	1	2	2	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2 1,2
H 259	10/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2 1,2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2 1,2	
H 260	10/01/2009		5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	3	6	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	NA	1	2 1,2

H 261	12/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,6	0	1		5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 262	13/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	4	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 263	14/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,3	2,4	1		5	2	3,5,6	NA	2	4	5
H 264	16/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	3	1	2	2	7	0	NA	NA		1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 265	16/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 266	16/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2	0	1		5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 267	16/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	1	2	0	1		5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 268	17/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 269	17/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	1	2,4,6,7	6	1		5	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
H 270	18/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2,4	0	1		5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 271	18/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	1	2	1	2	5	7	5	1	1,5,11		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 272	18/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	3	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 273	18/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 274	18/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,3,4	0	1		5	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
H 275	19/01/2009	B.Kolappan	5	1	2	1	3	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 276	19/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 277	19/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 278	19/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 279	19/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	1	1	1	1	2	1,3	0	1		5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 280	20/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

H 281	20/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 282	20/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,4	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 283	21/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	1	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 284	21/01/2009	Staff Reporter	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 285	21/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	1	5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 286	21/01/2009	R.Hariharan	5	3	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	1	5	1	1,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 287	22/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 288	23/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 289	23/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 290	23/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 291	23/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	2,3,4,6	2,3,4	1	5	2	3,5,7	NA	2	4	5
H 292	23/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	2	2	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 293	24/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	5	7	0	1	5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 294	24/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 295	24/01/2009	Staff Reporter	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 296	24/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 297	24/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 298	24/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	1	2,4	5	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 299	25/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	2	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 300	25/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

H 301	25/01/2009	C.Jaishankar	5	1	3	1	4	1	2	5	0	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 302	25/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,3	2	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 303	26/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	1	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 304	27/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	1	0	NA	NA	1	1	2	5	1	1,2,3,5	2	3,5,8	NA	2	4	5
H 305	27/01/2009	Staff Reporter	5	1	4	1	2	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 306	27/01/2009	Staff Reporter	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 307	27/01/2009		5	2	3	0	NA	NA	1	3	1	5	1	1,2,3,4,5,7	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 308	27/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,3,4,6	2	1	5	2	3,5,6	NA	2	4	5
H 309	28/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	1,2,4	2	1	1,2,3,4,5,7	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 310	28/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	4	0	1	1,5,11	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 311	28/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 312	28/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 313	28/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 314	28/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 315	28/01/2009		5	5	4	1	3	4	1	3	0	5	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 316	28/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	4,7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 317	28/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 318	28/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	1	4	1	1	1	1	2	1	1,2,5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 319	29/01/2009	Sandeep Dikshit	5	1	1	1	3	1	1	3	2,4	2	1	1,2,3,4,5	2	4,5,6	3,4	2	4	5
H 320	29/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,4,6	2,5	1	2,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2

H 321	29/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 322	29/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 323	29/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 324	29/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	1	2	2,4	0	1	1,2,3,4,5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 325	29/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	1	3	1	1	2	2,4,6	2,4,6	1	5	2	4,5,6	3	2	4	5
H 326	30/01/2009	T.Ramakrishnan	5	1	1	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 327	30/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	1	2	0	1	1,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 328	30/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 329	30/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 330	30/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 331	30/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	1	1	2	5	0	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 332	30/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 333	30/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 334	30/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 335	30/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,3,6	2,6	1	5	2	3,5,7	NA	2	5	5
H 336	30/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	1	2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 337	30/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	1	3	1	1	2	2,3,6	2,6	1	1,5	2	4,5,6	3	2	4	5
H 338	30/01/2009	PTI	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	4	0	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 339	31/01/2009	Sandeep Dikshit	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	3	4	5	1	1,2,3,4,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 340	31/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	

H 341	31/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 342	31/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 343	31/01/2009	S.Vijay Kumar	5	1	3	1	3	1	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 344	31/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 345	31/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 346	31/01/2009	Staff Reporter	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 347	31/01/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 348	31/01/2009	Staff Reporter	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 349	31/01/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	1	2	1	1	2	1,2,3	2,5	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 350	31/01/2009	Hasan Suroor	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	4,6	2	NA	NA	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 351	01/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	2	5	1	1,2,3,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 352	01/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 353	01/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 354	01/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 355	01/02/2009	Staff Reporter	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 356	01/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 357	01/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,3	2	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 358	01/02/2009	Hasan Suroor	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	3	0	0	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 359	02/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	1	0	NA	NA	1	2	2	0	1	1,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 360	02/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

H 361	02/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 362	02/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 363	02/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,3	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 364	03/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 365	03/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 366	03/02/2009	Staff Reporter	5	1	4	1	2	1	2	5	0	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 367	03/02/2009	Staff Reporter	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 368	03/02/2009	Staff Reporter	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 369	03/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 370	03/02/2009	Staff Reporter	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 371	03/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,3,4,6	2,3,4	1	1,5	2	3,5,6	NA	2	4	5
H 372	04/02/2009	R.K.Radhakrishnan	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 373	04/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,6	4	1	1,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 374	04/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 375	04/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 376	04/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 377	04/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 378	04/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 379	04/02/2009		5	2	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	0	0	1	1,2,3,4,5,1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 380	04/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

H 381	04/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 382	04/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	1	3	1	1	2	1,2,4,6	2	1	1,,5	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 383	05/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,4,6	2,4	1	1,2,3,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 384	05/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	1	2	1	2	5	0	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 385	05/02/2009	Staff Reporter	5	1	3	1	4	1	2	5	0	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 386	05/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 387	05/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 388	05/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 389	05/02/2009		5	5	4	1	3	4	1	3	0	5	1	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2	
H 390	05/02/2009	R.Hariharan	5	3	5	1	2	1	1	3	0	5	1	1,2,3,4,5,1	1	3	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 391	05/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	1	3	1	1	2	2,4	0	1	1,5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 392	06/02/2009	Staff Reporter	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 393	06/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 394	06/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 395	06/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	2	0	1	1,2,3,4,5,1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 396	06/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 397	06/02/2009	PTI	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	4	0	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
H 398	06/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	1	1	1	1	2	2,3	3,4	1	1,5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 399	07/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 400	07/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	3	1	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

H 401	07/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 402	07/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 403	07/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 404	07/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 405	07/02/2009	Legal correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 406	07/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,6	0	1	1,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2
H 407	07/02/2009	P.S.Suryanarayana	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	3	0	0	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2
H 408	08/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	1	2	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 409	08/02/2009	S.Sundar	5	1	3	1	4	1	2	5	7	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 410	08/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2
H 411	08/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,3	4	1	1,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2
H 412	08/02/2009	PTI	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	4	2	0	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2
H 413	09/02/2009	Staff Reporter	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 414	09/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	3	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 415	09/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 416	09/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 417	09/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 418	09/02/2009	Anita Joshua	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	5	4	0	1	1,2,5,11	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 419	09/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	4	0	1	1,2,3,4	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 420	09/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	1	4	1	1	2	1,2,3	2,3,4	1	1,2,5,11	1	1,2	NA	1	2

H 421	10/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,3,4	2	1	5	1	3	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 422	10/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,3,4	2,3	1	1,5	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
H 423	11/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 424	11/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 425	11/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 426	12/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 427	12/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	1	3	1	1	2	1,2,3,6	2,4	2	6,9	2	4,5,6	3	2	6	4,5
H 428	13/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 429	13/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 430	13/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 431	14/02/2009	J.Venkatesan	5	1	4	1	3	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 432	14/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,3,4	2	1	6,9	2	3,5,7	NA	2	6	5
H 433	14/02/2009	DPA	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	4	0	0	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 434	15/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	4	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 435	15/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 436	15/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 437	15/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	1	2	1	1	2	1,2,3	2,3,5	1	1,5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 438	16/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	2	2	0	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 439	16/02/2009	Staff Reporter	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 440	16/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	2	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

H 441	16/02/2009	Staff Reporter	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 442	16/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,5	5	1	1,2,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 443	17/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 444	17/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 445	17/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 446	17/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	4	2,3	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 447	18/02/2009	J.Balaji	5	1	3	1	3	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 448	18/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	2	1	2	5	7	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 449	18/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	1	2	1	1	2	1,2,4,6	2,5	1	1,5	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 450	19/02/2009	Aarti Dhar	5	1	1	1	2	1	1	5	4	2,5	1	1,2	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 451	19/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 452	19/02/2009	Sandeep Joshi	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	4	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 453	19/02/2009	J.Balaji	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 454	19/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	2,3,4	2,5	1	1,5	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
H 455	20/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 456	20/02/2009	J.Venkatesan	5	1	3	3	5	1	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 457	20/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 458	20/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 459	20/02/2009	Staff Reporter	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 460	20/02/2009		5	2	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	1	1,2,5,11	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

H 461	20/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 462	20/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	6	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 463	21/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	1	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,3	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 464	21/02/2009	Staff Reporter	5	1	3	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 465	21/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 466	21/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	2	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 467	21/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 468	21/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,4,6	2	1	1,5	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
H 469	22/02/2009		5	1	2	1	3	1	1	2	3	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 470	22/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 471	22/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	3	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	1,2	NA	NA	NA
H 472	22/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 473	22/02/2009	PTI	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	4	4	0	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 474	22/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 475	22/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	1	3	1	1	2	1,2,3,4	2	1	5	2	4,5,6,	3	2	6	4
H 476	23/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,6	2	1	5	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
H 477	24/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	2,3	0	1	1,2,3,4	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 478	24/02/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 479	24/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	3,4	2	1	1,5	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
H 480	25/02/2009	Staff Reporter	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

H 481	25/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	1	3	1	1	2	1,2,3	2,3	1	1,5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 482	26/02/2009	Staff Reporter	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 483	26/02/2009	S.Vijay Kumar	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 484	27/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	4,6	0	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 485	28/02/2009	B.Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	1	4	1	2	2	2	0	1	1,2,3,4,5,1	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 486	01/03/2009	Staff Reporter	5	1	1	1	3	1	1	5	7	2,5	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 487	01/03/2009		5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	4	2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 488	02/03/2009	<i>Staff Reporter</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 489	04/03/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 490	06/03/2009		5	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 491	06/03/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	1	3	1	1	2	1,6	2	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 492	07/03/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	3	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 493	08/03/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	1	1	1	1	2	1,2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 494	09/03/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	2	7	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 495	09/03/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	0	7	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 496	11/03/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	1	1	4	1	2	2	1,2	0	1	2	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 497	11/03/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	1	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 498	12/03/2009	<i>PVV Murthi</i>	5	1	1	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 499	17/03/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	3,4	2	1	1,2	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 500	25/03/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

H 501	26/03/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	1	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	1	4	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 502	26/03/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 503	27/03/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 504	28/03/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 505	28/03/2009	<i>P.S. Suryanarayan</i>	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	3	2	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 506	30/03/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	3	1	5	1	1	2	1,2	0	1	2,5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 507	31/03/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 508	31/03/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	3	1	3	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 509	01/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	1	2	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 510	01/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 511	02/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	2	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 512	03/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	3	0	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 513	04/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 514	05/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 515	06/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 516	06/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 517	08/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 518	09/04/2009	<i>Praveen Swami</i>	5	1	1	0	NA	NA	2	5	5	0	1	2,4	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 519	09/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 520	09/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	3	1	4	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

H 521	09/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2	0	1	2,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 522	10/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	3	1	4	2	2	5	7	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 523	11/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 524	13/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	1	0	NA	NA	2	2	2	2	1	1,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 525	13/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 526	13/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	3	1	5	1	2	2	2	0	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 527	13/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 528	14/04/2009	<i>Editorial</i>	5	2	3	0	NA	NA	1	NA	2,4	2,5	1	1,4	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
H 529	14/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	4	4	1	3	2	2	2	2	0	1	2	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 530	15/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	2,3	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 531	15/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 532	16/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 533	17/04/2009	<i>J. Balaji</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	6	3	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 534	17/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	3	1	3	1	1	2	2,4	2	1	1	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 535	18/04/2009	<i>N. Anand</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 536	18/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	3	1	3	1	2	5	7	2,3,6	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 537	18/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 538	19/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	1	0	NA	NA	2	2	2	2	1	4,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 539	19/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1,2	2	1	1,5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 540	20/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2

H 541	20/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 542	20/04/2009	<i>Staff Reporter</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 543	20/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	2,4,6	0	1	1,5	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
H 544	21/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	1,2	2	1	1,5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 545	21/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 546	21/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 547	21/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,3	0	1	1,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 548	22/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	1	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2	2	1	1,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 549	22/04/2009	<i>PTI</i>	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	4	7	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 550	22/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 551	22/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 552	22/04/2009	<i>Editorial</i>	5	2	3	0	NA	NA	2	NA	7	0	1	4,5,11	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 553	22/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	5,6	4	2	6	2	3,5,6	NA	1	2	1,2
H 554	23/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	NA	NA	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 555	23/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	NA	NA	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 556	23/04/2009	<i>PTI</i>	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	4	7	2,5	2	9,10	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 557	23/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	2	1,2	0	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 558	24/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	1	1	4	1	1	2	1,2	5	1	2,5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 559	24/04/2009	<i>Sandeep Dikshit</i>	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	7	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 560	24/04/2009	<i>Tamil Nadu Bureau</i>	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	7	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2

H 561	24/04/2009	Malini Parthasarathy	5	3	2	1	3	4	2	NA	4	5	1	4,5,11	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 562	24/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	1	2	2,4	2	2	6	3	3,5,6	NA	3	4	5
H 563	24/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 564	24/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 565	24/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 566	24/04/2009	Sandeep Dikshit	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	5	7	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 567	25/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	2,7	0	1	4	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 568	25/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	5	2	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 569	25/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	2	3	1	1	2	1	2	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 570	25/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	2	10	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 571	25/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	1	4	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 572	26/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 573	26/04/2009	Staff Reporter	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	2	0	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 574	26/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	2	0	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 575	26/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	2	0	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 576	26/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	2	0	0	1	4	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 577	26/04/2009	Staff Reporter	5	1	4	1	4	2	2	2	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 578	27/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	1	0	NA	NA	1	1	1,2,3,4	0	1	1,5	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
H 579	27/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 580	27/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	2	0	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2

H 581	27/04/2009	AS Kalkat	5	3	3	1	3	2	1	NA	0	0	2	9,10	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 582	27/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	2	1,4	0	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 583	27/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	2	9	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 584	27/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 585	27/04/2009	Hasan Suror	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	3	4	0	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 586	28/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	1	0	NA	NA	1	2	2,3	1	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 587	28/04/2009	RK Radhakishnan	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 588	28/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 589	28/04/2009	Tamil Nadu Bureau	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 590	29/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 591	29/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 592	29/04/2009	Staff Reporter	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 593	29/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 594	29/04/2009	IBN-CNN	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	4	2	5	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 595	29/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	4	2	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 596	30/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	5	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 597	30/04/2009	Tamil Nadu Bureau	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 598	30/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	5	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 599	30/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	2	2	1	1	2	2,4	0	1	1	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 600	01/03/2009	Staff Reporter	5	1	1	1	3	1	1	5	7	2,5	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

H 601	01/03/2009		5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	4	2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 602	02/03/2009	<i>Staff Reporter</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 603	04/03/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 604	06/03/2009		5	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 605	06/03/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	1	3	1	1	2	1,6	2	1	1	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 606	07/03/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	3	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 607	08/03/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	1	1	1	1	2	1,2	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 608	09/03/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	2	7	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 609	09/03/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	0	7	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 610	11/03/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	1	1	4	1	2	2	1,2	0	1	2	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 611	11/03/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	1	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 612	12/03/2009	<i>PVV Murthi</i>	5	1	1	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 613	17/03/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	3,4	2	1	1,2	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 614	25/03/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 615	26/03/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	1	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	1	4	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 616	26/03/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 617	27/03/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 618	28/03/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 619	28/03/2009	<i>P.S. Suryanarayan</i>	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	3	2	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 620	30/03/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	3	1	5	1	1	2	1,2	0	1	2,5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2

H 621	31/03/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 622	31/03/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	3	1	3	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 623	01/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	1	2	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 624	01/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 625	02/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	2	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 626	03/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	3	0	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
H 627	04/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1	0	1	5	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
H 628	05/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1	0	1	5	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
H 629	06/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	1	0	1	5	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
H 630	06/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1	0	1	5	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
H 631	08/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 632	09/04/2009	<i>Praveen Swami</i>	5	1	1	0	NA	NA	2	5	5	0	1	2,4	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 633	09/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 634	09/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	3	1	4	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 635	09/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2	0	1	2,5	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
H 636	10/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	3	1	4	2	2	5	7	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 637	11/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	2	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
H 638	13/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	1	0	NA	NA	2	2	2	2	1	1,5	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
H 639	13/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 640	13/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	3	1	5	1	2	2	2	0	1	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2	

H 641	13/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 642	14/04/2009	Editorial	5	2	3	0	NA	NA	1	NA	2,4	2,5	1	1,4	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 643	14/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	4	4	1	3	2	2	2	2	0	1	2	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 644	15/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	2,3	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 645	15/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 646	16/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 647	17/04/2009	J. Balaji	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	6	3	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 648	17/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	1	3	1	1	2	2,4	2	1	1	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 649	18/04/2009	N. Anand	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 650	18/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	3	1	2	5	7	2,3,6	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 651	18/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 652	19/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	1	0	NA	NA	2	2	2	2	1	4,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 653	19/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1,2	2	1	1,5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 654	20/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 655	20/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 656	20/04/2009	Staff Reporter	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 657	20/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	2,4,6	0	1	1,5	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
H 658	21/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	1,2	2	1	1,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 659	21/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 660	21/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

H 661	21/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,3	0	1	1,5	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
H 662	22/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	1	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2	2	1	1,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 663	22/04/2009	<i>PTI</i>	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	4	7	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 664	22/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 665	22/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 666	22/04/2009	<i>Editorial</i>	5	2	3	0	NA	NA	2	NA	7	0	1	4,5,11	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 667	22/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	5,6	4	2	6	2	3,5,7	NA	2	6	5
H 668	23/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	NA	NA	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 669	23/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	NA	NA	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 670	23/04/2009	<i>PTI</i>	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	4	7	2,5	2	9,10	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 671	23/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	2	1,2	0	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 672	24/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	1	1	4	1	1	2	1,2	5	1	2,5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 673	24/04/2009	<i>Sandeep Dikshit</i>	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	7	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 674	24/04/2009	<i>Tamil Nadu Bureau</i>	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	7	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 675	24/04/2009	<i>Malini Parthasarathy</i>	5	3	2	1	3	4	2	NA	4	5	1	4,11	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 676	24/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	1	2	2,4	2	2	6	2	3,5,6	NA	2	5	5
H 677	24/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 678	24/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 679	24/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 680	24/04/2009	<i>Sandeep Dikshit</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	5	7	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

H 681	25/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	2,7	0	1	4	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2	
H 682	25/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	5	2	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
H 683	25/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	2	3	1	1	2	1	2	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2	
H 684	25/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	2	10	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 685	25/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	1	4	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 686	26/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	1		1	1	1	1,2	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 687	26/04/2009	Satff Reporter	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	2	0	0	NA	NA		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 688	26/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	2	0	0	NA	NA		1	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 689	26/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	2	0	0	NA	NA		1	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 690	26/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	2	0	0	1	4	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
H 691	26/04/2009	Staff Reporter	5	1	4	1	4	2	2	2	0	0	NA	NA		1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 692	27/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	1	0	NA	NA	1	1	1,2,3,4	0	1	1,5		1	3,5,6	NA	1	2	1,2
H 693	27/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 694	27/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	2	0	0	NA	NA		1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 695	27/04/2009	AS Kalkat	5	3	3	1	3	2	1	NA	0	0	2	9,10		1	3	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 696	27/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	2	1,4	0	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
H 697	27/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	2	9	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 698	27/04/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 699	27/04/2009	Hasan Suror	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	3	4	0	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
H 700	28/04/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	1	0	NA	NA	1	2	2,3	1	1	5	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2	

H 701	28/04/2009	<i>RK Radhakishnan</i>	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 702	28/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 703	28/04/2009	<i>Tamil Nadu Bureau</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 704	29/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 705	29/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		
H 706	29/04/2009	<i>Staff Reporter</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		
H 707	29/04/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		
H 708	29/04/2009	<i>IBN-CNN</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	4	2	5	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 709	29/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	4	2	1	1	1	3,5,6	NA	1	2	1,2
H 710	30/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	5	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 711	30/04/2009	<i>Tamil Nadu Bureau</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		
H 712	30/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	5	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 713	30/04/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	3	2	2	1	1	2	2,4	0	1	1	1	4,5,6	3	1	2	1,2
H 714	01/05/2009	<i>Staff Reporter</i>	5	1	1	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	1	2	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 715	01/05/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	1	2	2	0	1	1,4	1	1,2	NA	3	2	1,2
H 716	01/05/2009	<i>V. Ragavendra</i>	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	5	5	0	1	2	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 717	02/05/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	1	0	NA	NA	1	2	2	0	1	1,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 718	02/05/2009	<i>Editorial</i>	5	2	3	0	NA	NA	2	NA	0	2	1	1,4,5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 719	02/05/2009	<i>V. Ragavendra</i>	5	1	3	1	1	1	2	5	5	0	1	2	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 720	02/05/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	2	1	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2

H 721	03/05/2009	Palaniyappan	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 722	03/05/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	1	2	2	1	2	1,2	5	1	1,4,5	1	1,2	1,2	3	2	1,2
H 723	04/05/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2	0	1	1,4	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 724	06/05/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,3,4	2	1	2,4	1	3,5,6	NA	3	2	1,2
H 725	07/05/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,3,4	2	1	1,4	1	3,5,6	NA	1	2	1,2
H 726	08/05/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 727	08/05/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	1	3	1	1	2	1,2	2	1	1,2,4,5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 728	09/05/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	2	1	1	2	2	5	7	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 729	09/05/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	1	2	2	2	5	7	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 730	09/05/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	3	1	4	1	1	2	1,2	0	1	1,4	1	1,2	1,2	3	2	1,2
H 731	10/05/2009	T.Ramakrishnan	5	1	1	1	4	1	2	5	7	0	1	1,2	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 732	10/05/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 733	10/05/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	3	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 734	10/05/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	1	2	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 735	10/05/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1	0	1	3,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 736	11/05/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2	0	1	3,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 737	11/05/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	3	1	1	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 738	11/05/2009	Special Correspondent	5	1	3	1	3	1	1	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 739	11/05/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,2,3	2	1	1,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 740	12/05/2009	B. Muralidhar Reddy	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	2	0	1	1,4,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2

H 741	13/05/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2		2	0	1	3,5		1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 742	13/05/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5		0	0	NA	NA		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 743	14/05/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2		1	0	1		5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 744	14/05/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	1	1,6		0	1	1,5		1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 745	14/05/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,4		2	1	3,5		1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 746	15/05/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,3		2	1	1,5		1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 747	15/05/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5		6	0	1		2	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
H 748	15/05/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,3		0	1		1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 749	16/05/2009		5	5	2	1	4	1	1	4		0	2	1		1	2	4,5,7	4	2	6	5
H 750	16/05/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	1	1	2	1	5		7	0	1		2	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 751	16/05/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2		5	2	1	1,2,5		2	3,5,7	NA	2	6	5
H 752	16/05/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	3	0	NA	NA	1	1		5	2	2		6	2	3,5,7	NA	2	6	5
H 753	17/05/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5		7	NA	NA	NA		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 754	17/05/2009	<i>special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5		7	NA	NA	NA		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 755	17/05/2009	<i>Vijay Kumar</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5		7	NA	1		2	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 756	17/05/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	3	1	4	1	1	1	1,2		0	1	1,3,5		1	4	3	1	2	1,2
H 757	18/05/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1,2		0	1	1,3,5		1	4	3	1	2	1,2
H 758	18/05/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	1	3	1	2	5		7	0	NA	NA		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 759	18/05/2009	<i>special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	1	3	1	2	5		7	0	NA	NA		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 760	18/05/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	3	1	4	1	1	1	1,3		0	1		3	1	4	3	1	2	1,2

H 761	19/05/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	1	3	4	1	1	1	1,3	7	1	1,3,5	1	4	3	1	2	1,2
H 762	19/05/2009	<i>Sandeep Dikshit</i>	5	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 763	19/05/2009	<i>Vijay Kumar</i>	5	1	2	1	3	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 764	19/05/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 765	19/05/2009	<i>C.Jaishankar</i>	5	1	4	1	3	1	2	5	5	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 766	19/05/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 767	19/05/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 768	19/05/2009	<i>Editorial</i>	5	2	3	NA	NA	NA	1	NA	0	1	1	1,5,11	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 769	19/05/2009	<i>Interview by Ram-Old</i>	5	4	3	1	4	2	1	2	3	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 770	19/05/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	3	3	1	5	1	1	5	3	0	1	1,3,5,11	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 771	19/05/2009	<i>V..S. Sampanthan</i>	5	3	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	3	0	1	1,5,11	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 772	19/05/2009	<i>Phtoo news (chronology)</i>	5	5	3	3	3	2	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 773	19/05/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	3	1	4	1	1	1	2	0	1	1,2,3	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 774	19/05/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	1	2,6	0	1	2	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
H 775	20/05/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	0	1	3,5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 776	20/05/2009	<i>J.venkatesan</i>	5	1	2	1	2	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 777	20/05/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	1	3	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 778	20/05/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 779	20/05/2009	<i>Tom Frel</i>	5	3	3	1	2	2	1	NA	0	0	1	3	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
H 780	20/05/2009	<i>Special Correspondent</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	1	2	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 781	20/05/2009	<i>Narasimharao</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
H 782	20/05/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	1	2	1	1	1	2	0	1	3,5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
H 783	20/05/2009	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy</i>	5	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	1	2	0	1	5,11	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2

Appendix 9: Coding Manual- The Times of India

Article Number:	Date of Publication:	Author (if any):	Name of Newspaper:	Type of Article:	Section of Newspaper:	Number of Pictures:	Size of the Main picture:	Nature of picture:	Type of Story:	Type of Coverage:	Quoted or mentioned as s	Noteworthy War incident	Key Frame:	Sub frames:	Typology of News story	Mode of Presentation	The correspondence between	The aesthetic quality of the	Space –Time (Representation)	Agency (Orientation)
TOI 01	22/09/2008		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	5	0	2	6	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 02	07/10/2008		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	NA	NA	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 03	16/10/2008	Indrani Bagchi	6	1	3	1	2	1	2	5	7	0	1	3	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 04	17/10/2008	M Gunasekaran	6	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 05	18/10/2008		6	1	3	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	1	5, 11	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 06	18/10/2008		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	1	5, 11	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 07	18/10/2008		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 08	19/10/2008		6	1	3	1	2	2	2	5	7	0	1	1,4	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 09	19/10/2008		6	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 10	20/10/2008		6	1	3	1	2	1	2	5	1,7	0	1	1,2,3,4,5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 11	20/10/2008		6	1	4	1	1	1	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 12	21/10/2008		6	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 13	22/10/2008	Rajeev Deshpande	6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	0	0	0	1	5,11	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 14	24/10/2008		6	1	4	0	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 15	27/10/2008		6	1	2	1	2	1	2	5	1	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 16	27/10/2008	Times News Network	6	4	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	2,7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 17	28/10/2008	PTI	6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 18	30/10/2008	Reuters	6	1	4	1	1	1	1	4	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 19	31/10/2008	PTI	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 20	25/11/2008		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 21	10/12/2008	K Venkataramanan	6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 22	28/12/2008		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 23	03/01/2009		6	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	4	1,2,3	0	1	5	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2

TOI 24	03/01/2009		6	2	3	0	NA	NA	1	NA	0	0	1	5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 25	03/01/2009	K.Venkataramanan	6	4	3	3	2	3	1	3	1,2	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 26	04/01/2009		6	1	3	1	2	1	1	4	1,2	0	1	5	1	3	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 27	04/01/2009		6	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	4	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 28	05/01/2009		6	1	4	1	2	4	1	2	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 29	06/01/2009		6	1	3	1	2	1	1	4	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 30	06/01/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 31	06/01/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	0	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 32	06/01/2009		6	1	3	1	2	1	1	2	1,2,3	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 33	08/01/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	3	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 34	09/01/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 35	09/01/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	0	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 36	10/01/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 37	12/01/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 38	17/01/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	6	2	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 39	18/01/2009		6	1	4	1	1	2	1	4	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 40	19/01/2009		6	1	3	1	1	1	1	4	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 41	19/01/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	0	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 42	23/01/2009	Marie Colvin	6	1	3	1	2	2	1	4	6 2,3	2	6	2	4,5,6	3	2	6	5	
TOI 43	24/01/2009	B.Aravind Kumar	6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 44	25/01/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 45	26/01/2009	K.Venkataramanan	6	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 46	26/01/2009		6	1	3	1	2	1	1	2	1,2	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 47	26/01/2009	K.Venkataramanan	6	1	4	1	1	1	1	2	0	0	1	1	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 48	27/01/2009	K.Venkataramanan	6	1	3	2	1	1	1	2	1,6	5	1	1	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 49	28/01/2009		6	1	3	1	1	1	2	5	7 2,5	1	5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 50	28/01/2009		6	1	3	1	2	1	1	2	1,3	0	1	5	1	3	1,2	1	2	1,2

TOI 51	28/01/2009	K.Venkataramanan	6	1	4	1	1	1	1	2	1,2,3,2,3	1	1	1	3	1,2	1	2	1,2	
TOI 52	28/01/2009	K.Venkataramanan	6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	0	6	1	1,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 53	29/01/2009	K.Venkataramanan	6	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	6	2,3,4	2	6,9	3	4,5,6,	3	2,4	7	4,5
TOI 54	29/01/2009	K.Venkataramanan	6	1	3	1	2	1	1	2	2,7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 55	29/01/2009	K.Venkataramanan	6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	2,6	2,3,6	1	5	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 56	29/01/2009		6	2	3	0	NA	NA	1	NA	2,7	0	2	10	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 57	29/01/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	1	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 58	30/01/2009		6	1	3	1	2	1	2	5	2,7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 59	30/01/2009		6	1	4	1	2	1	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 60	30/01/2009	K.Venkataramanan	6	1	4	1	1	1	1	2	1,3,4	2	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 61	30/01/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,3,4,2,6	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2	
TOI 62	31/01/2009		6	1	3	1	1	1	2	5	2,7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 63	31/01/2009		6	1	4	1	1	1	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 64	31/01/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 65	01/02/2009		6	4	3	2	4	1	1	3	2,5	0	1	1,2,4	1	3	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 66	01/02/2009	Indrani Bagchi	6	3	4	1	2	2	2	3	0	0	1	1,2,3,4	1	3	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 67	01/02/2009	K.Venkataramanan	6	3	4	1	1	1	2	2	2,5	0	1	1	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 68	02/02/2009	K.Venkataramanan	6	3	4	1	1	2	1	2	5	2	2	6,7,10	2	4,5,6,3,4	4	7	5	
TOI 69	02/02/2009		6	1	4	1	2	1	1	2	2,4	2,5	1	5	1	3	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 70	03/02/2009		6	1	4	1	3	3	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 71	03/02/2009		6	1	4	1	1	1	1	4	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 72	03/02/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1,2,6	2	1	1	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 73	04/02/2009		6	1	3	2	3	1	1	2	1,2	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 74	04/02/2009	M Gunasekaran	6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 75	04/02/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2

TOI 76	05/02/2009		6	1	4	1	1	1	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 77	05/02/2009		6	1	3	1	1	1	1	4	2,4	2,3,4	1	1,5	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 78	06/02/2009		6	1	4	1	1	1	1	4	1,2,4	2,3,4	1	2,5	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 79	07/02/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1,2,4	2	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 80	09/02/2009		6	1	3	1	2	1	1	4	1	2	1	1,2	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 81	10/02/2009		6	1	4	1	1	1	1	4	1,2,6	2,3,5	1	5	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 82	11/02/2009	G.Parthasarathy	6	3	3	1	1	2	1	3	0	0	1	1,5,11	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 83	11/02/2009		6	1	4	1	1	1	1	4	1,3,4	2	1	5	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 84	16/02/2009		6	1	4	1	1	2	1	4	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 85	18/02/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	4,6	2	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 86	19/02/2009		6	1	3	1	1	2	2	5	7	2,5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 87	20/02/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 88	21/02/2009		6	1	3	1	1	1	1	4	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 89	22/02/2009		6	1	2	1	2	1	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 90	22/02/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 91	22/02/2009		6	1	2	1	3	2	2	5	0	7	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 92	22/02/2009		6	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 93	22/02/2009	K.Venkataramanan	6	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 94	22/02/2009	K.Venkataramanan	6	1	4	1	3	1	1	2	1,3	0	1	5	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 95	23/02/2009		6	1	4	1	1	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 96	23/02/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 97	23/02/2009		6	1	4	1	1	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 98	24/02/2009		6	1	4	1	NA	NA	1	4	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 99	24/02/2009		6	1	3	1	1	1	1	4	1,2,3	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 100	25/02/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2

TOI 101	27/02/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	4	0	1	5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 102	27/02/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1,5	2	1	1,2	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 103	01/03/2009	Shobhan Saxena	6	4	3	5	2	3	2	3	0	0	2	10	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 104	02/03/2009	Praful Bidwal	6	4	3	1	1	1	1	3	6	2,3	2	6,7,8,9,10	3	4,5,6	3	4	7	5
TOI 105	02/03/2009		6	1	3	1	1	1	1	4	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 106	02/03/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 107	04/03/2009		6	1	4	1	1	2	2	3	2	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 108	11/03/2009		6	1	4	1	1	1	2	3	6	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 109	11/03/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	3	0	1	1,2,3	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 110	20/03/2009	Indrani Bagchi	6	1	4	1	1	2	1	3	6	2,6	1	1,2,3	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 111	22/03/2009	Marie Convin	6	1	4	1	1	1	1	4	6	2	2	6,8	2	4,6	3	2	6	4
TOI 112	26/03/2009	Indrani Bagchi	6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	1	5, 11	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 113	02/04/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	2	2,5	1	1,2,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 114	04/04/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	2	0	1	5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 115	07/04/2009		6	1	4	1	1	2	1	3	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 116	08/04/2009		6	1	4	1	1	1	2	3	0	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 117	10/04/2009		6	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 118	10/04/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 119	10/04/2009		6	2	4	0	NA	NA	2	NA	0	0	1	5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
TOI 120	11/04/2009		6	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 121	12/04/2009	Indrani Bagchi	6	1	3	1	1	2	2	5	7	2	1	1,2,4,5,1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 122	12/04/2009	David Blacker	6	3	3	1	2	2	1	NA	6	2,5	1	1,2,4,5, 1	2	3,5,6	3	2	2	5,6
TOI 123	13/04/2009	K Venkatramanan	6	1	4	1	1	2	1	5	2	2	1	5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 124	14/04/2009		6	2	3	0	NA	NA	1	NA	0	2	2	8,10	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

TOI 125	14/04/2009	Chidanand Raighatta	6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1	2,5		1		1		1	3	NA	1	2	1,2			
TOI 126	15/04/2009		6	1	4	1		1	2	2	5	7		0	NA	NA		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA			
TOI 127	18/04/2009		6	1	4	1		1	2	2	5	7		0	NA	NA		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA			
TOI 128	18/04/2009		6	1	4	1		1	2	2	NA	0		0	NA	NA		1	1,2	1,2		1	2	1,2		
TOI 129	18/04/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	3,4,6		2		1	1,2		1	3	NA	1	2	1,2			
TOI 130	19/04/2009		6	1	4	1		1	2	1	4	1		0		1		5		1	1,2	1,2		1	2	1,2
TOI 131	20/04/2009		6	1	1	1		1	2	2	5	7		0	NA	NA		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		
TOI 132	20/04/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7		0	NA	NA		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		
TOI 133	20/04/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1		0		1		5		1	1,2	NA		1	2	1,2	
TOI 134	21/04/2009		6	1	1	1		2	1	1	2	1		2		1	1,2, 5		1	1,2	1,2		1	2	1,2	
TOI 135	21/04/2009		6	1	3	1		1	2	2	5	7		0	NA	NA		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		
TOI 136	21/04/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	1		2		1		5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		
TOI 137	21/04/2009		6	1	4	1		2	2	2	5	7		0	NA	NA		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		
TOI 138	21/04/2009		6	3	4	0	NA	NA	2	NA	0		0		1	5, 11		1	1,2	NA		1	2	1,2		
TOI 139	21/04/2009		6	1	4	1		1	2	1	4	1		2		1	1,5		1	1,2	1,2		1	2	1,2	
TOI 140	22/04/2009		6	1	3	1		2	2	2	5	7		0		1	1,4		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		
TOI 141	22/04/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7		3	NA	NA		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		
TOI 142	22/04/2009		6	2	3	0	NA	NA	1	NA	1,3,4	2,3,5		2		6	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		
TOI 143	22/04/2009		6	1	3	4		2	1	1	4	1,3,6	2,3		1	1,5		1	4	1,2		1	2	1,2		
TOI 144	22/04/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	2	4	2,3		NA	NA		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		
TOI 145	22/04/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	2	4		0	NA	NA		1	1,2	NA		1	2	1,2			
TOI 146	23/04/2009		6	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	2,7		0	NA	NA		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		
TOI 147	23/04/2009		6	1	3	1		2	1	2	5	7		0	NA	NA		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		
TOI 148	23/04/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	6		2		2		6		2	3,5,7	NA		2	4	5	
TOI 149	23/04/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	2	4,7		2		1	1,5		1	1,2	NA		1	2	1,2		

TOI 150	23/04/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	3	1,2,4	2	1	5	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 151	24/04/2009	Sachin Parashar	6	1	2	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 152	24/04/2009		6	1	3	1	2	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 153	24/04/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 154	24/04/2009	Sachin Parashar	6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	2,4,7	0	1	5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 155	24/04/2009		6	1	3	2	1	1	2	4	1,2,4	0	1	1,5	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 156	24/04/2009		6	1	4	1	1	2	2	4	0	0	1	1,2,3,4,5,	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 157	24/04/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	4	4	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 158	24/04/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	6	2	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 159	25/04/2009		6	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	5	1	2,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 160	25/04/2009	K Praveen Kumar	6	1	3	1	2	1	2	5	2	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 161	25/04/2009		6	1	4	1	2	1	2	2	2,7	2	1	1,4	2	4,5,6	3	2	5	5
TOI 162	25/04/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 163	25/04/2009		6	1	3	1	2	1	1	4	1,3,4	2,3	2	6	2	4,5,6	3	2	5	5
TOI 164	25/04/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1,4	2	2	6	2	3,5,6	NA	2	5	5
TOI 165	26/04/2009		6	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	3	1,4	2	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 166	26/04/2009		6	1	4	1	1	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 167	26/04/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	2	0	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 168	26/04/2009		6	1	4	1	2	1	2	4	4,6	2,6	1	1,5,11	1	3	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 169	26/04/2009	Gethn Chamberlah	6	3	4	0	NA	NA	2	4	0	0	2	6	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 170	27/04/2009		6	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	2	1,5	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 171	27/04/2009	Praveen Kumar	6	1	3	1	3	1	2	5	7	0	1	1,2	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 172	27/04/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	4	2	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 173	27/04/2009		6	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 174	27/04/2009		6	1	4	1	2	1	1	2	2,3	0	1	1,2,5	1	4	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 175	27/04/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2

TOI 176	28/04/2009		6	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	4	1	0	1	1,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 177	28/04/2009		6	1	2	1	2	1	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 178	28/04/2009		6	1	3	1	2	2	1	5	1,3,7	0	1	1,2	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 179	28/04/2009		6	3	4	1	2	2	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 180	28/04/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	5	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 181	28/04/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1,2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 182	29/04/2009		6	2	3	0	NA	NA	1	NA	4	2,6	1	3,5,11	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 183	29/04/2009		6	1	4	1	1	1	1	4	2,3	0	1	1,2,,3,5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 184	29/04/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	1	5, 11	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 185	30/04/2009		6	1	4	1	2	2	2	5	5	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 186	30/04/2009		6	1	4	1	2	2	2	5	0	0	1	5, 11	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 187	30/04/2009		6	1	4	1	1	2	1	2	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 188	30/04/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	4	0	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 189	01/05/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	2	2	1	1,2,4,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 190	01/05/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	4	2	1	1,2,3,4,5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 191	03/05/2009		6	1	2	0	NA	NA	1	4	2,4,6	3	1	1,2,4	1	3	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 192	03/05/2009		6	1	2	1	1	2	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 193	03/05/2009	V Mayilvaganam	6	4	3	4	3	1	1	3	5	2,5,6	2	6,7	2	4,5,6,3,4	2	6	4,5	
TOI 194	03/05/2009	K Venkatramanan	6	4	4	0	NA	NA	2	3	6	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 195	03/05/2009	Nilova Roy Chaudh	6	4	4	1	1	2	1	4	2	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 196	03/05/2009	Atul Seti	6	4	4	1	1	2	2	5	6	0	1	5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 197	03/05/2009		6	1	3	1	2	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 198	03/05/2009		6	1	4	1	2	2	2	5	2	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 199	04/05/2009		6	1	4	1	1	1	1	2	2	0	1	5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 200	04/05/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2

TOI 201	05/05/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 202	05/05/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	4	2	0	1	1	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 203	08/05/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	1	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 204	08/05/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	4	2	1	1,2	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 205	09/05/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	6	0	1	5, 11	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 206	09/05/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 207	10/05/2009	Amrith Lal	6	1	4	1	2	2	2	5	6	0	2	9	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 208	10/05/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	5	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 209	10/05/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	2	2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 210	10/05/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	2	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 211	10/05/2009		6	1	4	1	1	1	1	2	6	4	1	1,2,5	1	1,2	1,2	1	2	1,2
TOI 212	10/05/2009	Thiru Sampanthar	6	3	3	1	2	4	2	NA	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 213	11/05/2009		6	1	3	1	2	1	1	2	1,3,5,	4	2	6,7	2	4,5,6	3	2,4	2,4	4,5
TOI 214	11/05/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	0	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 215	11/05/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	2	4	0	0	NA	NA	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 216	12/05/2009		6	1	4	1	1	2	2	5	7	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 217	12/05/2009		6	1	3	1	2	1	1	4	1,5	3	2	6	2	4,5,6	3	2,4	2,6	5
TOI 218	12/05/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	2	2	1	1,2	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 219	12/05/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	0	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 220	13/05/2009		6	1	4	1	2	2	1	4	3,5	4	2	6	2	4,5,6	3	2,4	2,4	5
TOI 221	13/05/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	0	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 222	14/05/2009		6	1	3	3	2	2	1	4	5,6	4	2	1	2	4,5,6	3	2,4	2,4	4,5
TOI 223	14/05/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	0	0	1	5	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2
TOI 224	15/05/2009	Chidanand Raighat	6	1	3	1	3	1	1	5	4,5	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
TOI 225	15/05/2009		6	1	4	0	NA	NA	1	4	1,4	2	1	1,2	1	1,2	NA	1	2	1,2

Appendix 10: Practice of Human Rights Journalism in the Humanitarian Crisis of Sri Lanka and Creating Options for R2P Intervention

Aim - The aim of this study is to examine the nature and extent of the practice of Human Rights Journalism (HRJ) in the international media during the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka in the wake of the overrunning of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) by government forces in 2009, and thereby to scrutinise the extent to which, and how, the international media failed or succeeded in creating conditions for the international society to invoke Responsibility to Protect (R2P).

Instructions: Please complete the following questions to reflect your opinions. You may use as much as space as necessary and add as many details as you would like. Please skip questions which are not applicable.

Please Note: If you have a concern about any aspect of your participation or any other queries please raise this with the researcher. However, if you would like to contact an independent party please contact the Head of Department.

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Name:

Designation:

Organisation:

Email:

Telephone:

Skype:

1. Did you or your newspaper/TV have any specific interest in covering the ethnic conflict/final war in Sri Lanka? Why?

2. How do you see the agenda setting role of the international newspapers such as *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *The Independent*, *The Times*, *The Times of India* etc. regarding the issue of Sri Lankan ethnic conflict?
 - Do you think the coverage of this war by these newspapers influenced the way the public understood it?
 - WHAT would you say about the role played by the international newspapers during the final war in Sri Lanka?

3. There is an argument that media should go an extra mile beyond the notion of objectivity and play a proactive role to contribute to the protection of human rights. It underlines the moral responsibility of journalists to raise awareness of human rights violations, wherever they exist, and mobilise appropriate policy response to end them, prevent their escalation.
 - Was this conviction possible in your reporting of the war in Sri Lanka? Why?
 - Would you say that your reporting contributed to preventing human rights violations of both sides during the war? Why?

4. What are the constraints and challenges you faced while reporting about war? Please give specific examples if you have experienced ANY?

5. Did you ever experience any moral/ethical conflicts about what you were doing in Sri Lanka?

6. Was there any geopolitical ideology, cultural or other reasons behind your news construction of the final war in Sri Lanka?

7. What sources did you rely upon more to file news stories, and why did you prefer these sources?

8. Were you satisfied with the way your news stories were presented and published in your newspaper?

9. Did you have control over what you were writing about this conflict?
 10. Did you have previous experience in reporting war zones?
 11. What would you have done differently, had you known the facts later revealed by various organisations including the UN, Channel 4 etc.?
 12. Did the “Terrorist label on LTTE” influence your reporting?
 13. What do you understand by Human Rights Journalism or Human Rights based journalism?
 14. Is Human Rights Journalism possible? Possible in what ways?
 15. What are the challenges and opportunities that lie ahead in attempting so? Please explain why?
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